PHILLIPS ACADEMY
3 1867 00706 2941

Library

of

Phillips Academy

Accession No.
17266

Shelf No.
0921
B87

CHARLES BULFINCH

Architect and Citizen

CHURCH AT LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS

CHARLES BULFINCH

Architect and Citizen

BY

CHARLES A. PLACE

With Illustrations

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1925

COPYRIGHT, 1925, BY CHARLES A. PLACE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

17266

PREFACE

THE task of gathering accurate data and illustrations of Bulfinch architecture grew out of a purely personal interest; and the photographs, lacking professional skill, are the result of an acquired use of the camera that buildings seen or pictures of those long since removed might have some representation.

The architectural task developed an understanding and appreciation of a gentleman whose character was noble and whose taste was for the beautiful and the true. As an architect Charles Bulfinch is known, but the dominant motive of his life was to be a true citizen. Few people realize the value of his service to his native town — long, faithful, unstinted. And so the life has come to have its part with the architecture, and the story is written in the hope that it may help others to a larger estimate of what Bulfinch was and what he did.

The citizenship research has involved an amount of labor out of all proportion to the record here set down. Bulfinch kept no diary, wrote few letters of any kind, and almost nothing of him written by others has been found. The man lived in his work and there we must seek him. A mass of material has been searched, including the Town and Selectmen's records and many obscure papers, which, while it constitutes the very warp and woof of the story, still is very inadequate in any attempt to make Charles Bulfinch live and move during the period of his unique service to the growing town. For personal coloring we seek almost in vain.

Acknowledgment is made of the help derived from *The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch*, by Miss Ellen S. Bulfinch, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1896, and to many individuals who by their kindness have made this work possible as well as a delight.

CONTENTS

I.	Early Years	1
II.	Beginning of Work and Marriage	16
III.	Elected Selectman — The Connecticut State House	38
IV.	Franklin Place and the Massachusetts State House	56
V.	'The Great Selectman'	94
VI.	A Variety of Designs	118
VII.	Residences before the War	147
VIII.	The Great Selectman in War and Peace	191
IX.	Designs in Architecture, 1812–1817	209
X.	The National Capitol and a Few Designs	241
XI.	Last Years	276
	Index	289

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHURCH AT LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS — *Frontispiece*
From a photograph by C. A. Place

SUSAN APTHORP — 3
From portrait by Blackburn, owned by J. Templeman Coolidge

CHARLES BULFINCH — 9
From portrait by Mather Brown, owned by Francis V. Bulfinch

MAP OF BOSTON, 1789 — 13
From the first Boston Directory, 1789

JOSEPH BARRELL — 17
From Copley pastel in Worcester Art Museum

HOLLIS STREET CHURCH — 21
From original sketch by Bulfinch

EAST BRAINTREE CHURCH — 22
From photograph

HANNAH BULFINCH (MRS. CHARLES BULFINCH) — 25
From portrait owned by Dr. George G. Bulfinch

FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK — 30
From original sketch by Bulfinch

BEACON HILL COLUMN — 32
From a lithograph made in 1857 by J. H. Bufford after a drawing by J. R. Smith made in 1811

BRATTLE STREET CHURCH, PULPIT END — 34
From photograph at the Bostonian Society

CHURCH, TAUNTON, MASSACHUSETTS — 35
From sketch owned by Old Colony Historical Society, Taunton, Massachusetts

CHURCH, PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS — 36
From an old cut

OLD STATE HOUSE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT — 45
From photograph by C. A. Place

UPPER CORRIDOR, OLD CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE — 48
From photograph by C. A. Place

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OLD CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE — 49
From photograph by C. A. Place

SENATE CHAMBER, OLD CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE — 51
From photograph by C. A. Place

THE ARCH AND FRANKLIN MEMORIAL, TONTINE BUILDINGS — 57
From photograph at the Bostonian Society

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLAN OF TONTINE CRESCENT 59
From *Massachusetts Magazine*, 1794

MEDAL AWARDED TO BULFINCH, BY THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BOSTON THEATRE, SHOWING FIRST THEATRE 61
From photograph

SECOND THEATRE 62
From an old engraving

A NORTH-SIDE HOUSE ON FRANKLIN PLACE 65
From photograph at Bostonian Society

THE ARCH AND FRONT OF BOSTON LIBRARY, FRANKLIN PLACE 71
From original drawing by Bulfinch

THE ARCH, TONTINE BUILDINGS 73
From photograph at Bostonian Society

FRANKLIN PLACE, LOOKING DOWN 77
From photograph at Bostonian Society

MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE 78
From Pendleton Lithograph at Bostonian Society

DOME OF STATE HOUSE, BOSTON 79
From photograph by C. A. Place

DORIC HALL, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON 80
From photograph by C. A. Place

THE OLD SENATE CHAMBER, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON 82
From photograph by C. A. Place

THE OLD HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON 83
From photograph by C. A. Place

GALLERY AND CEILING, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 84
From photograph by C. A. Place

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ABOUT 1852 85
From *Gleason's Pictorial*

COUNCIL CHAMBER, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON 87
From photograph by C. A. Place

OLD SENATE GALLERY, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON 88
From photograph by C. A. Place

LETTER OF BULFINCH ON MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE (1795) 88
From original in Massachusetts Archives

NAVY OFFICE, SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON 91
From an engraving published in London, 1828

STRAND FRONT, SOMERSET HOUSE 92
From an engraving published in London, 1828

ILLUSTRATIONS

Almshouse, Leverett Street, Boston 98
From an old engraving

Map of 'Neck,' Boston 101
From Hales's Street Maps of Boston, 1814

Plan for Development of the Mill Pond, Boston 105
From original, probably by Bulfinch

India Wharf Stores, East End 108
From photograph by C. A. Place

Court-House, Worcester, 1801 119
From original drawing by Bulfinch

Elevation of the Massachusetts State Prison 120
From the Massachusetts Archives

Stairs, Massachusetts State Prison 121
From photograph by C. A. Place

Faneuil Hall before Enlargement 122
From an old engraving

Faneuil Hall as enlarged by Bulfinch 123
From an old engraving

Stairs Detail, Faneuil Hall 124
From photograph by C. A. Place

Interior, Faneuil Hall 125
From photograph by C. A. Place

Don Juan Stoughton Residence 127
From photograph (C. A. P.) of an old painting

Holy Cross Church, Boston 129
From photograph at Bostonian Society

Saint Stephen's Church (Catholic), Boston, formerly 'New North' Church 130
From photograph by C. A. Place

Belfry, Hallowell, Maine 132
From a photograph

Christ Church Spire, Boston 133
From a photograph

United States Bank, Boston 136
From a plate in *The American Builder's Companion* (1806)

Boylston Hall and Market, Boston 139
From photograph owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society

Spire, Federal Street Church, Boston 141
From photograph at Bostonian Society

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTERIOR, FEDERAL STREET CHURCH 142
From photograph at Bostonian Society

COURT-HOUSE, BOSTON, 1810: AFTERWARDS THE CITY HALL 143
From photograph at Bostonian Society

ACADEMY BUILDING, NOW PUBLIC LIBRARY, PORTSMOUTH, N.H. 146
From photograph by courtesy of Rev. Alfred Gooding

BARRELL MANSION 148
From an old sketch at McLean Hospital, Waverley, Massachusetts

HALL, BARRELL MANSION 149
From photograph at McLean Hospital

DRAWING-ROOM, BARRELL MANSION 150
From photograph at McLean Hospital

JONATHAN MASON MANSION 153
From a drawing made in 1836

FAY HOUSE, RADCLIFFE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 155
From photograph by J. W. Lowes

FIRST HARRISON GRAY OTIS HOUSE, 1796 157
From sketch, probably by Bulfinch, in the Otis papers

ORIGINAL CORNICE, FIRST OTIS HOUSE 158
From photograph by C. A. Place

LOWER HALL, FIRST OTIS HOUSE 159
From photograph by C. A. Place

UPPER HALL, FIRST OTIS HOUSE 160
From photograph by C. A. Place

DINING-ROOM MANTEL, FIRST OTIS HOUSE 161
From photograph by C. A. Place

CORNER, COLONIAL DAMES ROOM, FIRST OTIS HOUSE 163
From photograph by C. A. Place

SECOND HARRISON GRAY OTIS HOUSE, 1800 165
From photograph by C. A. Place

THIRD OTIS HOUSE, 1805–06 166
From photograph by C. A. Place

NO. 4 PARK STREET 169
From photograph

PARK STREET AND THE STATE HOUSE, ABOUT 1870 170
From photograph at Bostonian Society

ELEVATION, 1–4 PARK STREET 171
From original by Bulfinch, owned by Dr. John C. Warren

HOWARD HOUSE, BULFINCH PLACE 173
From photograph at Bostonian Society

ILLUSTRATIONS

House of Stephen Higginson, Jr., No. 87 Mount Vernon Street 177
From photograph by C. A. Place

Nos. 55 and 57 Mount Vernon Street 178
From photograph by C. A. Place

Lower Hall, 13 Chestnut Street 180
From photograph by C. A. Place

Hallway of No. 55 Mount Vernon Street 181
From photograph by C. A. Place

Nos. 13, 15, and 17 Chestnut Street 182
From photograph by C. A. Place

Bedroom Mantel, 15 Chestnut Street 183
From photograph by C. A. Place

Park Street, showing Amory House on the Corner 184
From photograph at Bostonian Society

An Interior, 15 Chestnut Street 185
From photograph by C. A. Place

An Interior, 17 Chestnut Street 186
From photograph by C. A. Place

Thomas Perkins House, Joy Street 187
From an old photograph

Colonnade Row, Tremont Street 189
From photograph at Bostonian Society

Design for a City House 191
From original by Bulfinch

Tremont Street Mall 196
From a water-color in the Boston Public Library, believed to have been painted by a daughter of General Knox about 1800

Old Elm, Boston Common 197
From an engraving by J. Kidder in *Polyanthos,* Boston, 1813

Tremont Street above Court Street 206
From an old cut

Third Latin School Building, 1812 209
From an old cut

University Hall, Harvard, as Originally Built 210
From a cut in Josiah Quincy's *History of Harvard University*

University Hall after 1842 211
From a photograph

Chapel, University Hall 213
From photograph by C. A. Place

ILLUSTRATIONS

New South Church, Boston 214
From a photograph owned by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

Interior, New South Church 216
From an old photograph

Plan for a Jail 219
From the original by Bulfinch

Blake-Tuckerman House 220
From photograph at Bostonian Society

Portico of Lancaster Church 223
From photograph by C. A. Place

Lancaster Church Porch 226
From photograph by C. A. Place

Interior of Lancaster Church 229
From photograph by C. A. Place

Pulpit, Lancaster Church 230
From photograph by C. A. Place

McLean Hospital, the Remodelled Barrell Mansion 233
From photograph at the Hospital at Waverley

Pearson Hall, Andover, Massachusetts 234
From photograph by courtesy of Phillips Academy

Third Building, Phillips Academy, Andover 235
From photograph by courtesy of Phillips Academy

Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston 236
From photograph by C. A. Place

Lower Corridor Stairs, Massachusetts General Hospital 238
From photograph by C. A. Place

A Second-Floor Corridor, Massachusetts General Hospital 239
From photograph by C. A. Place

Pencil Drawing of the Capitol at Washington 250
From the original by Bulfinch

West Front of the Capitol 251
From original drawing by Bulfinch, published in 1821

East Front of the Capitol 253
From original drawing by Bulfinch, published in 1826

Design for Rotunda, Capitol 257
From original, probably by Bulfinch

Floor Plan, Capitol 261
From an engraving in Peter Force's *The National Calendar*, 1823

West Steps, Capitol 262
From an engraving in N. P. Willis's *American Scenery*, 1840

ILLUSTRATIONS

UNITARIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON 265
From a photograph

CHURCH, PETERBORO, N.H. 266
From photograph, by courtesy of Rev. Arthur H. Winn

PLAN FOR PULPIT, UNITARIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON 267
From the original by Bulfinch

INTERIOR, PETERBORO CHURCH 269
From photograph by C. A. Place

MAINE STATE HOUSE 270
From a drawing

MAINE STATE HOUSE 271
From a photograph

PLAN FOR DOME OF MAINE STATE HOUSE 272
From the original drawing by Bulfinch

CHARLES BULFINCH ABOUT 1842 277
From a drawing by Alvan Clark

BOWDOIN SQUARE IN 1822 281
From drawing in 1922 for the Bostonian Society

PLATE IN CRUNDEN'S *ORIGINAL DESIGNS* (LONDON, 1767) 284
From copy of the book in Bulfinch's possession

DESIGN BY WILLIAM THOMAS, SUGGESTING DOME FOR MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL 285
From copy of *Original Designs in Architecture* (London, 1783) owned by Bulfinch

PLAN AND ELEVATION FROM PLAW, LONDON, 1795 286
From copy of book owned by Bulfinch

SKETCH OF POINTED ARCH BY BULFINCH 288
From Bulfinch's sketch in his copy of *Essays on Gothic Architecture*

CHARLES BULFINCH

Architect and Citizen

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

IN what we know as Bowdoin Square in Boston, Charles Bulfinch was born on August 8, 1763, in a house built by his grandfather at the time of his marriage to Judith Colman. We have a fairly good idea of the house as it stood with its companions in the Square about one hundred years ago, after it was enlarged and remodeled at the close of the eighteenth century, and a more intimate touch of home and gardens in a description written about the time of Bulfinch's return to his birthplace at the close of his life. We can form no clearer idea of the house as it was at the time of his birth.

The man who built this house, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, was the son of Adino, a well-to-do Boston merchant, the first known Bulfinch ancestor in America. His son Thomas was likewise a physician. Both men were well trained abroad, the former at London and Paris, and the latter at London and Edinburgh, and their letters reveal high ideals and strong moral convictions. The second Thomas was graduated from Harvard College in 1749, and the valedictory oration delivered by him is still preserved. With reasonable pride, because the test had been very severe, he informs his father that he was honored with a degree of Doctor of Physic in the University of Edinburgh. On the death of his father, December 2, 1757, he abandoned a contemplated Italian trip and returned to Boston to take up

his father's practice, and on September 13, 1759, was married to Susan Apthorp whose father in his day was called the richest man in Boston, to whose interest and generosity the present King's Chapel is due in large measure. Blackburn in one of his best portraits shows Miss Apthorp near the time of her marriage, a woman of beauty, refinement, and animation, and she has been described as having marked intellect and cultivation. Her brother, the Reverend East Apthorp, was rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, removing to England in 1764, and for a time was in charge of Saint Mary-le-Bow, London.

With such inheritance Charles Bulfinch was born into the simple yet noble life of culture and motive. He grew up in the town of Boston with its truly English spirit of liberty and right, amid the turbulence of agitation and the war for Independence. Of the earliest years of his development there is little beyond what the general conditions of the time suggest. A hint of the taste that was to dominate his life is found in a little pen-and-ink sketch of two columns made at the age of ten, but no marked ability is displayed. His family was connected with King's Chapel, and it was his father, as senior warden and acting for the congregation, who on November 18, 1787, ordained James Freeman to be 'rector, minister, etc.,' of the Society.

In the brief autobiographical sketch Bulfinch speaks of his paternal ancestry and then proceeds to mention events in his life.

'I was born in 1763, considered as a year of triumph; the peace with France having just been effected, after a successful war, in which Canada had been conquered, and all fear of a formidable enemy on the frontier had been removed. My earliest recollections are of the altercations and political disputes occasioned by the attempts of the mother country to raise a revenue in the colonies, of the resistence to the

BLACKBURN PORTRAIT OF SUSAN APTHORP

Stamp Act, of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbour, of the firing upon the citizens in State street, then called King street, March 5, 1770, of the blockade of the port, and removal of the Custom house to Salem, of the arrival of the British troops and of their encampment on the Common and Fort hill; of the fight at Lexington, and the battle of Bunker hill, which I saw the progress of from the roof of our dwelling-house: of the continuance of the siege of Boston and of the evacuation of the town by British troops on March 17, 1776.

'After the return of the inhabitants to Boston the town schools being reorganized, I was readmitted to the Latin School under Mr. Hunt and fitted for College, which I entered in 1778, and was graduated in 1781. The class consisted of only 27, and it now appears extraordinary to me that the parents of even that small number could determine to pursue an expensive education of their children at a time when war was raging and business interrupted, but it proves the general confidence in the success of the cause. This small class included several who have done honor to their college and have been distinguished in public life; Dudley A. Tyng, Judge Davis, Judge Paine, the Reverend B. Howard and the Honorable Samuel Dexter and others.

'My disposition would have led me to the study of physic, but my father was averse to my engaging in the practice of what he considered a laborious profession, and I was placed in the counting-room of Joseph Barrell, Esq., an intimate friend and esteemed a correct merchant; but unfortunately the unsettled state of the times prevented Mr. Barrell from engaging in any active business, so that except for about three months of hurried employment, when he was engaged in victualling a French fleet in our harbour, my time passed very idly and I was at leisure to cultivate a taste for Architecture, which was

encouraged by attending to Mr. Barrell's improvement of his estate and (improvements) on our dwelling-house and the houses of some friends, all of which had become exceedingly dilapidated during the war. Coming of age about this time, an Uncle, George Apthorp, died in England, and a portion of his property, about 200 pounds sterling, came to my parents, who devoted it to my use for a visit to Europe. I accordingly embarked in June, 1785, and returned Jan. 1787. The time of my visit to Europe was passed, partly in London and in visits to friends of my family in different parts of England; in a visit to France and through that country to Italy. At Paris I tarried some time to view its buildings and other objects of curiosity, to which I was introduced by letters from the Marquis La Fayette and Mr. Jefferson, then minister there. From Paris I proceeded in the spring of 1786 through Nantz and Bordeaux and by the canal of Languedoc to Marseilles and then to Antibes, from which place I crossed in an open felucca to Genoa, thence to Leghorn and Pisa, by Viterbo and Sienna to Rome, where I remained three weeks, and then returned by Bologna, Florence, Parma, Placentia, and Milan over the Alps by Mont Cenis, to Lyons and again to Paris: after a short stay there, I returned to London by way of Rouen and Dieppe, crossing the channel to Brighton. This tour was highly gratifying, as you may well suppose. I was delighted in observing the numerous objects and beauties of nature and art that I met with on all sides, particularly the wonders of Architecture, and the kindred arts of painting and sculpture, as my letters to friends at home very fully express; but these pursuits did not confirm me in any business habits of buying and selling; on the contrary, they had a powerful adverse influence on my whole after life.'

These letters, all too few and with little description, throw some

light on the European trip. We infer that his is ever the artist's eye, and that architecture in its full sense of building and decoration is the wonder he seeks. In his first letter he writes, 'I have been engaged ever since my arrival in gratifying my curiosity with the sight of building, etc.' There is a touch of the hazard of war and the unsettled conditions following the Revolution in a letter of December 12th of the same year. Evidently his father had suffered some loss as a consequence of the British oecupation and had sought for settlement. In the same letter he writes regarding the King's Chapel plate: 'I was in hopes I should receive some further documents respecting the Church plate. . . . The Doctor has been allowed by government a sum fully equivalent to his house in Boston, so that he can now have no plausible reason for detaining the plate, but as he still means to keep it, I should be glad to be furnished with such papers as would enable me to compel a return of it.' Those who are familiar with the history of King's Chapel will recall that, when the last Royalist rector, Dr. Caner, departed, he took the Chapel plate with him, and that it was never returned.

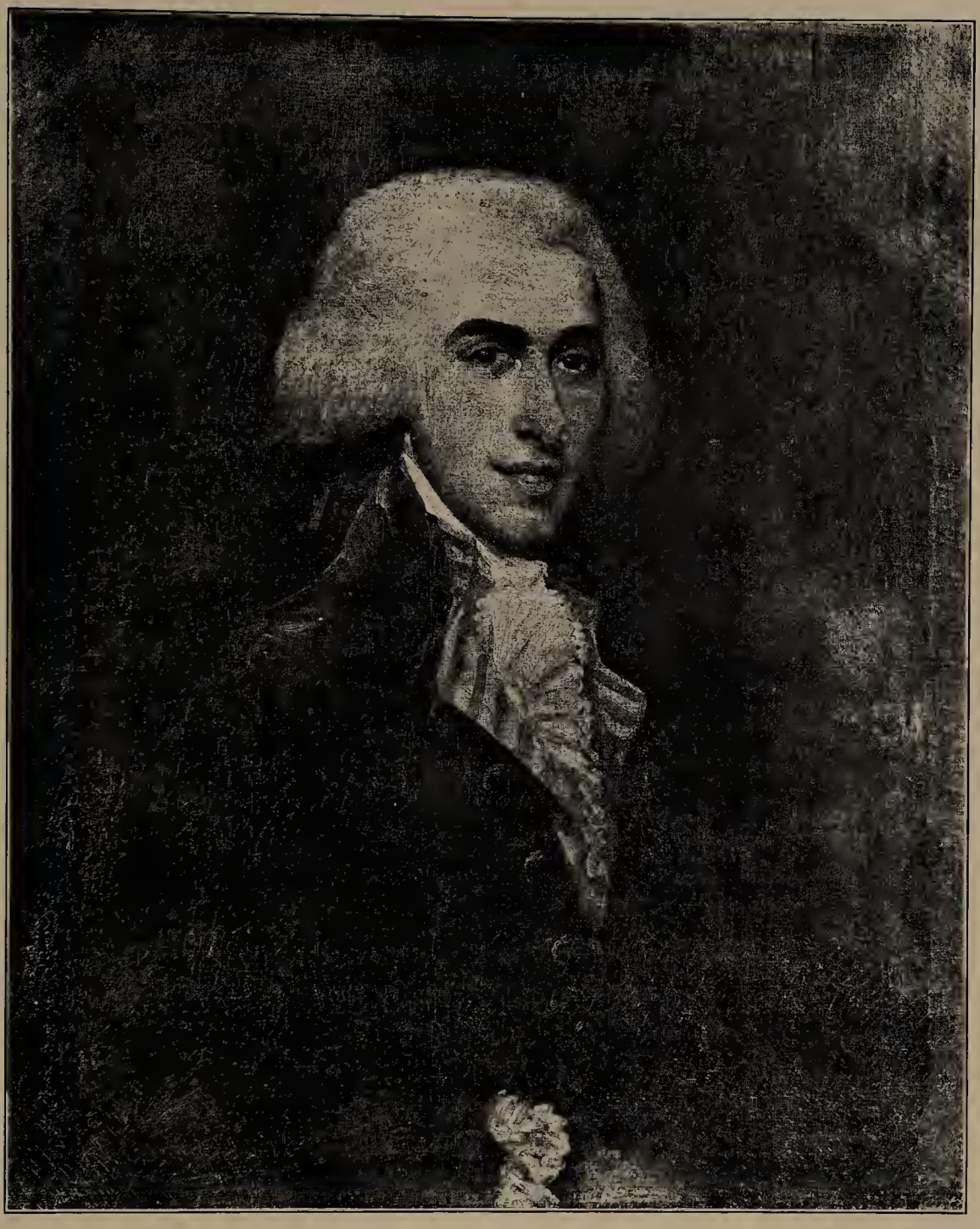
We cannot determine at what time Bulfinch went to Paris, or how long he remained, though he writes in the letter dated Deeember 12, 1785, 'This week I mean to set off for Paris,' indicating his intention of remaining on the Continent three or four months. Under date of May 2, 1786, he writes from Marseilles, 'It is now three months since I have received any letters from Boston.' We must conclude that at least three months was consumed in his visit to Paris and from there to Marseilles.

His journey can be traced from L'Orient to Nantes where he spent two days viewing its curiosities, etc., among whieh were public buildings and 'public walks.' 'Every town in Franee has one or more public

walks, shaded with trees and kept in constant repair; these walks are usually surrounded by the public buildings of the place, which are an additional beauty at the same time that they serve as a shelter from the wind; I own myself much pleased with this mode of public walks.'

The theatre at Bordeaux he calls the most superb in France, a noble structure of the Corinthian order, and cost 'only 130,000 pounds.' From Bordeaux he passed rapidly to Toulouse and embarked on the Languedoc Canal in order 'to have an idea of that great work.' He did not tarry at Narbonne, but pushed on to Montpellier which he found beautiful in situation and climate. Nîmes claimed his natural interest. He writes: 'This city was formerly the capital of a Roman colony. Many ancient remains announce the grandeur of its former masters. The present inhabitants show with exultation the remains of a very extensive Roman amphitheatre, and several temples; one of which is entire, and is esteemed a perfect model of Corinthian architecture.' No letter appears after the one of May 10, 1786, at Marseilles — really at Leghorn as Bulfinch informs his mother later — till the letter in August from London. According to the family tradition he was moved to tears on his first sight of Saint Peter's, but there is no record of the three weeks' stay in Rome or of the famous cities visited *en route*. If he actually set out for Paris after writing the letter of December 12th, we must conclude the whole journey from London to his return there occupied over seven months.

The only record of his stay in England in the fall of 1786 before he sailed for Boston, probably about the first of December, concerns his portrait painted at that time. He wrote: 'It is the work of Mr. Brown [Mather Brown]; you will find it very rough, but that is the modish style of painting, introduced by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Mr. Copley, indeed, paints in another manner, his pictures are finished to the ut-



CHARLES BULFINCH

Painted by Mather Brown, London, 1786

most nicety, but then — they are very dear.' Something of the understanding of the artist is seen in this comment; we must remember that Copley had removed to England in 1774 where he remained until his death. This portrait may be considered a good likeness and is interesting when compared with a miniature painted about the same time as one of Mrs. Bulfinch. Both are interesting examples of miniature art, particularly that of Mrs. Bulfinch, but probably not by Malbone as held in the family tradition. The powdered wig and ruffled shirt betoken the 'gentleman' of his time, but the face reveals a youth of fine character, artistic taste and refinement.

When Charles Bulfinch returned to Boston in January, 1787, it was to a town of some fifteen thousand inhabitants just beginning to recover from the stagnation caused by the war. The Royal Governors were gone forever. The houses for the most part were simple and quaint with their true homely charm. The streets were even narrower than in 1815 after many had been widened, and without sidewalks, though a few street lights were maintained at public and private expense. There were gambrel-roofed houses and a few mansions, the most notable of which were the Hutchinson house, residence of Governor Hutchinson, the Clark-Frankland house, suggesting the romantic story of Agnes Surriage — both built of brick and situated in North Square — the Hancock house of stone on Beacon Hill, and the Faneuil house of brick, home of Peter Faneuil, standing opposite the burying-ground on Tremont Street. Of public buildings there were the State House in State Street, old Faneuil Hall, the Province House, official residence of the Royal Governor after 1716 and formerly the residence of Peter Sargent, and a few notable churches the best of which are still standing —King's Chapel, Christ Church, and the Old South. Brattle Street Church, beautiful within and architectur-

ally interesting, built in 1772–73, has been removed. Cows grazed upon the Common and in the various pastures, including Beacon Hill. The Mill Pond and the windmills in different parts of the town were still to be seen. The town was bounded almost entirely by water and the marshes which extended on the south and west nearly to the foot of the hills. There was a bridge to Charlestown and a road across the neck to the southwest.

But with all its narrow streets and quaintness Boston was more than a provincial town or fishing port. Considerable as was its fishing industry, its commerce was greater. Up to 1755 it had been the largest town in the American Colonies with a population of seventeen thousand in 1740. Long Wharf, nearly two thousand feet in extent, was built in 1710, and Boston Light, the first lighthouse in the New World, was completed in 1716. The larger merchants were traders in many ports with interests and relations which enlarged both their wealth and their minds. These men and others whose welfare was involved in shipping enterprises — shipbuilders, skilled mechanics, and tradesmen — saw their interests imperilled and threw themselves into the forces of the Revolution. It has been said that Commerce and not Democracy dominated the motives of Massachusetts in the Revolution, and there is much force in the statement. But Massachusetts was agricultural as well as commercial and the spirit of independence and of natural rights was strong.

These forces and principles had their influence on the growing Bulfinch, and he in turn came to have his part in them in the work of the new era which had little promise at the beginning of 1787. For though the political tide, which had ebbed so steadily and with it industrial venture, was about to set in, there were yet two years of doubt and uncertainty. The Constitution and its adoption lay in the

BOSTON IN 1789

future and the ill-joined Union gave little encouragement to enterprise. In Massachusetts the sense of burden and injustice incident to debt, heavy taxes, and a depreciated currency made itself manifest in the anarchy of Shays's Rebellion which speedily gave way to law and order. Boston was greatly depressed; local shipbuilding and trade had declined with her commerce and population; yet a few minds hoped and labored for the new day. With new hopes came new ventures, shipbuilding gradually increased and civic pride awoke.

Up to within about a decade the town had been dominated by English ways in building, in dress, in general thought. Now it was to stand alone, to build for itself, to think for itself. Yet all of its new life and effort, as it soon found, rested upon the past, upon connections it could not sever, upon ideas that were a very part of its new development. What it had to do was to adapt these ideas to the new spirit and the new demands.

No man was better prepared to be a leader in this civic betterment with its structural demands than Charles Bulfinch. By tradition and inheritance he felt himself a real part of the town and its life; by temperament and training he was fitted to choose and advise, with the zest and enthusiasm which come from seeing older forms of civilization expressed in municipal plans; in building for Church and State, Bulfinch, ever the artist and ever the good citizen, devoted himself to a life of real public service. With little if any consideration of professional interest or reward, he gave his consideration to the enlarging needs and demands of his time. This was not immediate, but of sure and steady development. He writes in his sketch, 'On my return to Boston, I was warmly received by friends, and passed a season of leisure, pursuing no business but giving gratuitous advice in architecture, and looking forward to an establishment in life.'

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF WORK AND MARRIAGE

AT the very beginning of his career as a citizen, Bulfinch was identified with a venture which proved of great importance to the commercial life of Boston and to the extension of the territory of the new Republic. The value of trade with China was recognized by Boston merchants, but they lacked an attractive medium of exchange; the problem was to find such medium. Already trade in furs on the Northwest Coast had been advocated by Captain Cook, but before his official report was published in 1784, John Ledyard, a young American who had been with Cook, made persistent attempts to establish trade. He enlisted the interest of Robert Morris, but the New York business men declared the scheme visionary. He then turned to Jefferson and Paul Jones in Paris, but no French money was found. In England he succeeded in obtaining funds to fit out the ship Nootka, but the project fell through.

In Boston, three years after Cook's report was published, six men, of whom Joseph Barrell, a prominent Boston merchant, was the leader, financed a venture which had results more far-reaching than they anticipated. These men met in the house of Dr. Thomas Bulfinch and resolved to fit out two ships. Accordingly the Columbia, two hundred and twenty tons burden, commanded by John Kendrick, who also was in charge of the expedition, and the Lady Washington of ninety tons, commanded by Robert Gray, were fitted, and, with a cargo selected to attract the Indians, sailed from Boston September 30, 1787. A bronze medal struck in commemoration of the enterprise is now in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where also are many

JOSEPH BARRELL

Pastel by John Singleton Copley

original letters by Barrell, Kendrick, and Gray with accounts relating to the voyage. A number of pewter copies of this medal were struck off and taken on the ship. It will be seen that 'C. Bulfinch' appears on one side of the medal with other names. In July, 1893, one of the copper half-pennies taken on the voyage, dated Boston, 1787, was found by Alexander Mackenzie in the possession of a native of the country east of the Strait of Fuca.

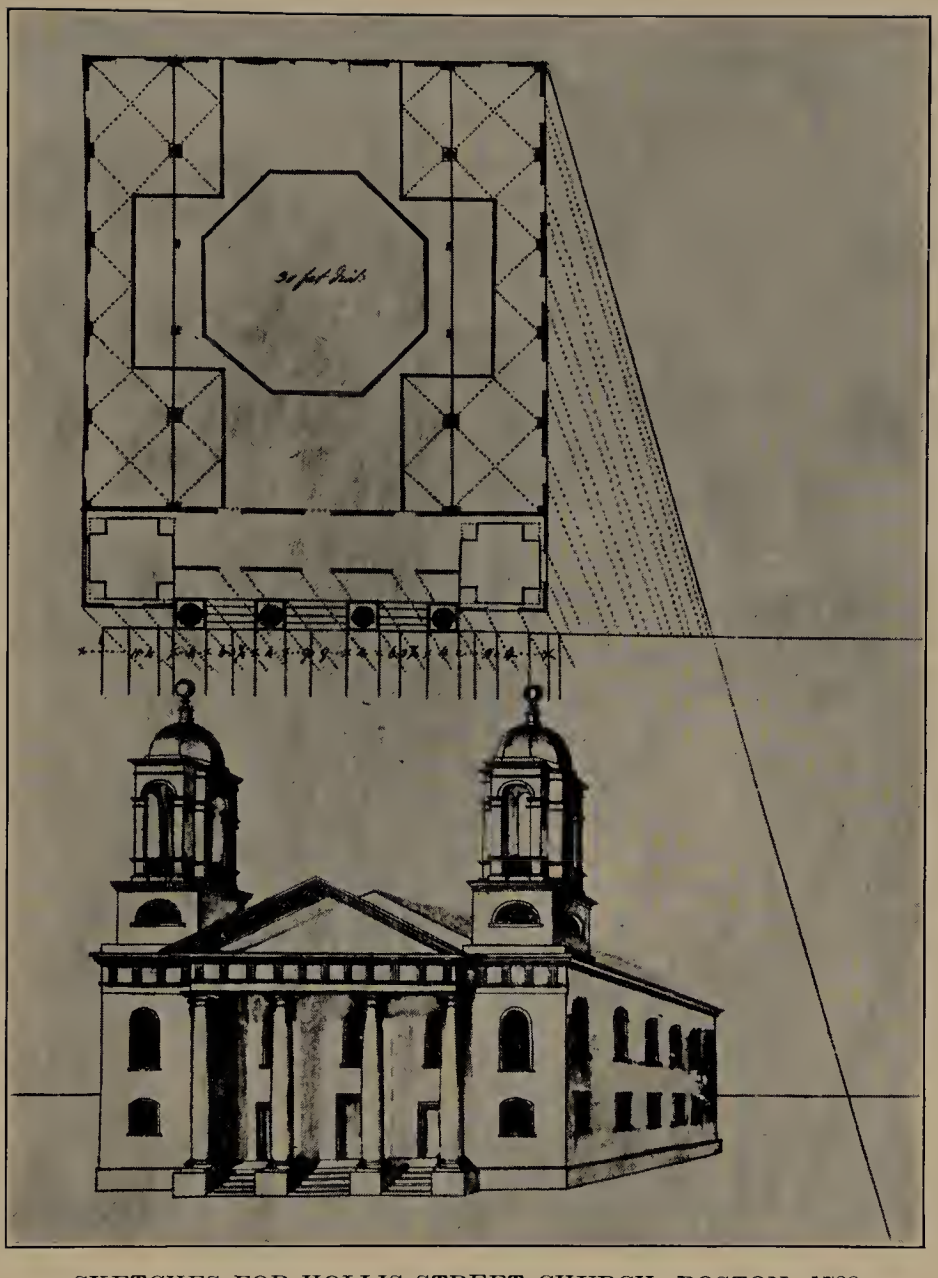
After various adventures the ships arrived on the Northwest Coast and opened trade with the Indians. When provisions began to run low in the summer of 1789, Kendrick ordered Gray to proceed in the Columbia to China. Gray accordingly, with a cargo of furs, sailed July 30, 1789. Arriving in Canton he sold the furs at a price lower than had been anticipated, loaded with tea, and on August 10, 1790, sailed into Boston Harbor amid the joyful acclaims of the citizens. For the first time the American flag had circled the globe.

The tea was sold to Samuel Parkman; and though the venture was not a financial success and two of the owners, Darby and Pintard, withdrew, the ship was refitted and with a new and carefully selected cargo sailed September 28, 1790. In this venture Thomas Bulfinch is credited with £893. The Columbia arrived on the coast the following June. The next spring, 1792, Gray sailed southward where at Lat. 46° 10′ he found breakers which for nine days he attempted to pass without avail. Sailing north, he fell in with Vancouver on April 29th and asked him if he had made any discovery. Vancouver replied that he had not, as yet, and inquired of Gray's success. Gray then told him about the breakers which he had seen, and Vancouver said that was probably what he sighted two days back, and which he had judged of little importance. Gray determined to try again, and running south he found an anchorage which he named Bulfinch Harbor, now known as

Gray's Harbor; and then going on he came, on May 11th, to the breakers, which he essayed again, this time with success. Once passed, he found himself in a broad river of clear water which he ascended for some distance. Then returning he landed on May 19th, deposited some coins at the foot of a pine tree, raised the American flag, and named the river Columbia. The north point, at the mouth of the river, he called Cape Hancock, and the south one Adams Point. Gray thus was the first white man to cross the bar and anchor and raise the American flag. The Columbia with tea from Canton arrived in Boston July 29, 1793. Hence a voyage of commercial adventure resulted not only in the extension of American territory, but in stimulating the commercial interests of Boston and New England.

At the time when the Columbia venture was launched, a new Massachusetts State House was agitated, and this young man, twenty-five years old August 8th, set himself to provide a plan. It was no slight undertaking, and required more than an interest in architecture or the zeal of a European trip. We can never know the weeks or months he spent on this, probably his first design, but on November 5th of that year he submitted a plan to the committee which had been appointed June 27th 'to consider a more convenient place for holding the General Court.' The letter, which is now in the Massachusetts Archives, contains detailed estimates amounting to four thousand pounds. It is not surprising, in consideration of the political and financial condition, that no decided action was taken. The wonder is that a committee to consider the project should have been appointed within four months of the quelling of Shays's Rebellion, but the final result of this initiative was a structure that was Bulfinch's masterpiece.

Bulfinch's first executed design was Hollis Street Church, Boston, built in 1788 to replace the one destroyed by fire in 1787. The exterior



SKETCHES FOR HOLLIS STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, 1788

From original drawing

EAST BRAINTREE CHURCH

was not beautiful, due to whatever limitation in design or in the financial condition of the society; but it gives an immediate illustration of the influence of Bulfinch's trip abroad. This type of church is not always satisfying in brick or stone and practically impossible in wood; though Hollis Street Church served as a model for the second edifice of the First Congregational Church, Providence (1795), which was called a 'beautiful copy of one of the most beautiful houses of worship in Boston.' The copy was better than the model, but both buildings lacked grace and lightness.

Of the Providence church an Englishman wrote in his 'Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States' in 1807–08, 'The west end of the cathedral church of Saint Paul, in the city of London, is the model on which it is formed, and from which as much of the pomp of architecture has been imitated, as the small dimensions of the copy may have justified.' This applies equally to Hollis Street Church, which on contemporary evidence was the model for the Providence structure.

Hollis Street Church interior, sixty feet square, undoubtedly was inspired by Saint Stephen's Church, Walbrook, London, but of course lacking all that exquisite charm of carving and ornamentation which makes that church Wren's finest interior, which so touched the sense of beauty in Bulfinch. The unskilled drawings, interesting as being among the first done by Bulfinch, furnish a few details such as the ceiling in the form of a Greek cross crowned by a thirty-foot dome, and the galleries cutting the four large Ionic columns. We reasonably may assume that the interior design was executed much as drawn, since we know such was the fact of the exterior, but there is no hint of pulpit lines or the shape of the pews.

From the 'Massachusetts Magazine,' December, 1793, we learn that

the galley breast work was adorned with festoons and a 'fret-dentiled cornice,' that the pulpit projected from the wall and had a flight of stairs on each side, and that back of the pulpit was a 'Venetian window' with fluted pilasters. There was no sounding-board, the dome serving instead; 'those at a great distance hear as well as those near.' 'We add with pleasure that the plan was given by the ingenious Mr. Bulfinch, who, to a good natural genius and a liberal education, having added the advantages of a tour through Europe, has returned to adorn his native town and country, in particular by his taste for and improvements in architecture. His views in the present instance were well seconded by Mr. Joseph Wheeler, the head workman, who excells in executing as the other does in designing.'

The church was taken down in 1810 and rebuilt in East Braintree with an entirely different façade, as shown in the photograph before 1897 when the edifice was destroyed by fire. Evidently the same framing was used and the old columns, but the lines of the cupola are wholly different and much better than those of Hollis Street Church.

Bulfinch was married on November 20, 1788, to Hannah Apthorp, his cousin; one of the orphaned grandchildren of Stephen Greenleaf, the last high sheriff of Suffolk County under the British Government. In this marriage Bulfinch was blessed indeed! Through all the trials and afflictions of their life Hannah Bulfinch met the test. Her life was rich in faith and the power of the spirit, in moral fibre and steadfastness. Bulfinch writes of her: 'We were cousins and had been in some degree acquainted from early life; the connection was esteemed a happy one and began under the most favourable circumstances. My disposition was sedate, hers cheerful and animated; a respectable property on both sides promised us the enjoyment of all the comforts and rational pleasures of life, and these expectations were fully

HANNAH BULFINCH

realized in the blessings of a peaceful home, with mutual affection and the enjoyment of the best society.' Mrs. Bulfinch's estimate of her character at the time accords with her portraits in oil and miniature: 'As my disposition was uncommonly lively, I was in the more danger from my inconsiderate gaiety.'

In the spring of 1789, Bulfinch and his wife, accompanied by Anna Bulfinch and Frances Apthorp, sister of each respectively, and George Storer, who later married Anna, set out for the inauguration of Washington as first President of the United States. The Constitution framed at Philadelphia in 1787, after strong opposition in which Massachusetts had joined, had been adopted before the close of 1788, thus making the United States a national unit. Passing through Worcester and Springfield, Hartford and other towns, they arrived in New York, from whence they went to Philadelphia, where the architect finds a house of special interest. 'This city is not much altered since I was last here, except in its increase; the same plain stile of building is kept up, and the same quakerish neatness. One only great exception to this appears in the house of Mr. Bingham, which is in a stile which would be esteemed splendid even in the most luxurious parts of Europe. Elegance of construction; white marble staircase, valuable paintings, the richest furniture and the utmost magnificence of decoration make it a palace, in my opinion far too rich for any man in this country.'

In the next letter from New York, April 19th, we find a mention of a matter that was beginning to have consideration in Puritan Boston: 'We attended three plays in Philadelphia, and have already seen two here; and I suppose it will be thought absolutely necessary by our party to see every one that shall be performed during our stay; indeed so charmed are they, that remarks upon the play and the different

actors engross great part of our conversation. You must expect our ladies to form a party in Boston for establishing a Theatre there, and they are pretty sure of success.' And he adds, 'I should be very glad to see him [Joseph Barrell] at a play; for the greatest part of my entertainment has arisen from a strict attention to the novices, and perceiving their emotions.' In this letter we find warm expression of his loyal admiration for Washington together with his comment on the hope of New York City to be the seat of government: 'Notwithstanding these and other amusements we begin to wish to be at home, and shall hasten there with dilligence as soon as we have seen General Washington. The sight of this great man is all that is wanting to make our pleasures complete; he will certainly be here the latter end of this week, and will probably enter upon his office the Monday or Tuesday following; great preparations are making to shew the public joy on his arrival; elegant transparent paintings and fireworks are to be exhibited; and everything will be done to induce Congress to make this city the place of their permanent residence. Indeed, if a readiness to lavish away money can influence that body, no place can have an equal claim with New York, but I should not be surprised if they were to overdo the matter, and by such great eagerness excite the jealousy of other states; they have already expended near 25,000 pounds and seem to be still going on. . . . We hope you do not blame us very loudly for overstaying our time, for you must reflect that the object we have in view is of such a sort as will never again appear during our lives. We expect not only to see General Washington, but to see him the favorite of this whole continent, the admiration of Europe — to see him publickly introduced to office and take an oath to preserve inviolate the constitution. This was one great motive for our coming, and we should ever regret losing this sight by any precipitate departure.' Two days later he wrote:

'Mr. John Apthorp, who left us at Philadelphia . . . has been as far as Mount Vernon, General Washington's seat — dined with him — saw as much of the country as he wished, and is here with us ready to proceed to Boston.' Unfortunately, we have no account by Bulfinch of the inauguration, April 30th, but we must hope that they all saw the 'great man,' and that then, or in the following October when Washington visited Boston, they had some closer touch.

Of more than passing interest is the unmarked and heretofore unidentified sketch by Bulfinch of Federal Hall, because it is associated with his early life and his keen interest in the beginning of the new Republic. Following the decision that the inauguration of Washington should be in New York, the old city hall was transformed by L'Enfant and called Federal Hall. Here George Washington became the first President of the United States, and the following month a cut substantially like this by Bulfinch was published in the 'Massachusetts Magazine.'

One of the stories related of Washington's visit to Boston is that Governor Hancock, through an exaggerated sense of dignity of himself or the Commonwealth, would not call upon the President, deeming it the duty of the Chief Executive to call upon the Governor of the Sovereign State where he was visiting. But discovering his blunder (so runs the story) he swathed his limbs in flannels — a sudden victim of the gout, to which he was subject — and had himself carried to visit the President, who accepted and excused the tardy sufferer. This story, true to Hancock's known vanity, could not have been told of Bulfinch.

As the Town Directory for 1789 reads, 'Charles Bulfinch, gentleman, Marlborough Street,' we must infer that the couple were settled in their new home at the time of their marriage or soon after their arrival

FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK
From original sketch by Bulfinch

home from New York. It must be remembered that the part of Washington Street between School and Summer was called Marlborough Street after 1718. Miss Bulfinch, in 'Life and Letters,' thus comments: 'Rich and well connected, high-principled, yet with their grave New England training softened by a cultivation of mind and sweetness of temper somewhat unusual, there was every reason to predict for them a happy future.' There was, as Bulfinch wrote, 'respectable property' on both sides, but what he had in his own right at

this time we cannot determine. Somewhere on this street, probably between Franklin and Summer Streets, we must picture a house set a little back from the road with some land and trees and flowers — a house with sunshine and the atmosphere of home. Here began that practical consideration of the interests and needs of the town which developed steadily and continuously throughout his life.

Though he did not accept official responsibility till March, 1791, his mind was occupied with the new and better town that was to be, and in the light of what he had seen in the cities abroad. We have an illustration of this in the design for the Beacon Hill memorial column. In 1789 the old beacon, which with its predecessors had served as a warning to the inhabitants in time of danger since 1634, was blown down. Bulfinch designed a column and suggested that this be erected in place of the beacon and to bear inscriptions commemorative of the liberty and independence secured by the exertion of patriots. The column, of the Roman Doric order, built of brick and covered with stucco, was sixty feet high and four feet in diameter surmounted by an eagle. It seems likely that the inscriptions on the four tablets were due to the Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, pastor of the Federal Street Church. Dr. Belknap wrote: 'Yesterday I was consulted on forming a set of inscriptions for an historical pillar, which is erecting on Beacon Hill. Some of the most striking events of the Revolution will be inscribed, beginning with the Stamp Act and ending with the Funding Act. These comprehend a period of twenty-five years. The one may be considered as the beginning, and the other as the conclusion, of the American Revolution. The pillar is to be sixty feet high; over its capital, the American eagle, which is to perform the office of a weather-cock. The arrows are to serve for points, and a conductor is to be added for the lightening. The designer is Mr. Charles

Bulfinch, a very ingenius and accomplished gentleman, and as modest as ingenius.'

The old beacon crude and practical had served its age; it gave way to the new day now dawning and to this new symbol which, with its finer beauty, pointed to those virtues in the past which must still inspire the future. We come here very close to the real Bulfinch; we see his taste, we feel the spirit of his civic and national ideals. When the top of Beacon Hill was cut down in 1811, this shaft was removed, and the four tablets preserved. This monument was reproduced exactly in stone, with the four tablets, restored after years of neglect, set in its base by the Bunker Hill Monument Association in 1898, and formally presented to the State, June 17, 1899. It stands at the east of the State House.

THE BULFINCH COLUMN, BEACON HILL, BOSTON, 1789

The designs for the churches in Taunton and Pittsfield, Massachusetts, probably were made in 1789. They are both interesting in their extension of the church type plan as distinguished from the 'meeting-house,' which had prevailed in New England till nearly this time. The

early meeting-house was a house adapted to public worship, oblong or square, with the pulpit opposite the main door, which in the case of the oblong type was always on the side. The Puritan had no chancel, or chancel end with pulpit. Christ Church (1723) and King's Chapel (1754), Boston, were on the church plan with chancel at the end. The Old South (1730), Boston, while much the same as Christ Church, was a meeting-house with main door on the side and pulpit opposite. This has a tower at the end as did the latest type of meeting-house, but in no case was the pulpit opposite the tower. The first church of the Pilgrim or Puritan descent in New England to use the church type was Brattle Street Church (1772–73), Boston. This had a projecting porch façade with the pulpit placed opposite. The interior of the church was very beautiful, but the porch was not well done. We find only one other example of this idea, naturally interrupted during the Revolution and the period of reconstruction, till we come to the influence of Bulfinch. That example is the First Baptist Meeting-House, so called, though a church in plan, of Providence, Rhode Island, the design for which undoubtedly was influenced by Brattle Street Church and King's Chapel. This extended reference to the transition from the New England meeting-house to the church is made to give a better appreciation of what Bulfinch did. All the examples of good church architecture in Boston, except the Old South, and those abroad which Bulfinch had seen, followed the church type. Though Bulfinch speaks of meeting-houses in Taunton, Pittsfield, and Lancaster, they were really on the church plan.

The illustrations of the exteriors of both Taunton and Pittsfield show the type we have been considering. The differences are in details, the general plan being the same. The belfry and spire of Taunton follow the prevailing type on New England meeting-houses in the eighteenth

century, but do not show Bulfinch's hand as does the belfry at Pittsfield. The latter is a cupola, so called, and is a departure followed by builders in many communities after this time. Bulfinch's contribution in both these churches is the working-out of the projecting porch

PULPIT END, BRATTLE STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, 1772–73

façade, a very decided advance over Brattle Street Church, and the cupola belfry, no example of which has been found prior to that at Pittsfield, though a great variety subsequently throughout New England.[1]

[1] 'From Meeting-House to Church in New England,' by Charles A. Place, in *Old-Time New England*, 1922–23.

CHURCH, TAUNTON, MASSACHUSETTS, AFTER REMOVAL TO SPRING STREET IN 1827

The Town of Taunton voted to build June 1, 1789, though the church was not completed till five years afterward. Bulfinch's name appears on the seating committee, and the church is described as having square pews and a 'lofty pulpit,' with galleries on three sides. The building was removed to Spring Street about 1827 and for many years was used by the Universalists.

In 1789 a committee was appointed by the Town of Pittsfield to procure a plan, etc., for a new 'meeting-house.' The building probably

was begun in 1790 and was finished in 1793, at a cost of £2188. It is said to have been fifty-five by ninety feet. Doubtless the interiors of both churches were due as much to local housewrights as to Bulfinch's design. The plan was his, giving the general lines and locating the pulpit, possibly with a design for the latter; but the finish depended much on local skill and finance. The pulpit in Pittsfield is described as 'high and narrow with a long flight of stairs'; in Taunton, as a 'lofty pulpit.' It seems useless to hazard a guess at anything more definite. Thus far, after long search, no illustration of a high or lofty pulpit has been found in the whole Connecticut Valley and Berkshire regions, during the period from 1750 to 1800 and later. Most of the high pulpits were cut down or removed before 1850. Whether the pulpits in these two churches followed the style generally in use up to 1790, or were constructed on lines which Bulfinch designed, cannot be determined. The writer deeply regrets his inability to give an illustration of the interiors of these churches and that no other descriptions have been found. An interesting illustration of the church is found in Clew's 'Winter View of Pittsfield' (about 1825–35).

CHURCH AT PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

In 1789, the Bulfinches' first child was born and named Susan for the father's younger sister so much loved by him. The house in Marl-

borough Street continued to be their home during 1790. It is significant that the assessor's book for this year records Bulfinch as 'architect'; and though there is no entry of a carriage we find a manservant and entry of unoccupied house in Ward 7. To this ward, in which Bulfinch was born, the family removed before June, 1791, but whether to this unoccupied house for a time, situated probably in Southack Court (Howard Street), or immediately to Middlecot Street (Bowdoin Street), where we are certain they lived for some years up to the winter or spring of 1796, we cannot determine.

CHAPTER III

ELECTED SELECTMAN — THE CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE

WE now come to consideration of the first years of his service to the town. It has been understood commonly that his service dates from 1789, and indeed on seemingly good authority. Bulfinch wrote, 'Charles Bulfinch was a junior member of the board of Selectmen from 1789 to 1793; he was chairman from 1797 to 1818, twenty-one years.' Neither of these statements is correct. A number of the nine members elected to the Board March 14, 1791, declined; and at an adjourned meeting, March 30th, Charles Bulfinch was elected 'unanimously' to fill one of the vacancies. Thus and then began his official connection, which continued (with the exception of the four years, March, 1795, to March, 1799) till his removal to Washington in late December, 1817. During the second period, which began in 1799, for a period of nineteen years he was Chairman of the Board. In another place Bulfinch records, 'I enjoyed too the confidence and goodwill of my fellow townsmen, who chose me one of the Selectmen at the early age of twenty-seven.' This is correct. Bulfinch was twenty-seven in August, 1790. His first election was in the following March, according to the published records of the town meetings, which the minutes of the Board of Selectmen confirm.

His first meeting with the Board is recorded under date of April 5, 1791. At this meeting the Selectmen took under consideration the will of Benjamin Franklin because of a bequest to the town of one thousand pounds, and the Selectmen and three ministers were named trustees. In this year Bulfinch served on a number of committees which had to do with various town matters including Faneuil Hall, Beacon Hill, etc.

One of these was on street-lighting, and was a connecting link between private street-lamps, with increasing town appropriations for part maintenance, and a full town system. This committee, by the help of private subscription, tried the experiment of lighting the town in the winter of 1792. The success warranted a recommendation to light the lamps for the 'ensuing' year (April, 1792); and the town so voted.

Bulfinch also had a part in the operation of a 'New system of education' which had been adopted by the town October 16, 1789. The committee (of which Bulfinch was secretary for the year 1792–93) to execute this new system was composed of twelve men elected annually 'conjunctly' with the Selectmen, making a total of twenty-one members. Their business was to visit the schools 'once in every quarter and as much oftener as they shall judge proper with three of their number at least to consult together and devise the best methods for instruction and government, etc.' It was a real executive service and involved much time and thought. There were seven schools: one, in which Latin and Greek were taught and 'scholars fully qualified for the Universities,' called the Latin School; one writing school each for the north, center, and south parts of the town for the teaching of writing and arithmetic, and one reading school each as above, where reading, spelling, and grammar were taught. The Latin School was for *boys* at least ten years old who had received instruction in English grammar; the others were open to *both sexes*, admitted at the age of seven years and to be allowed to continue till the age of fourteen. The boys were to attend the year round; the girls from April 20th to October 20th. The marked advance in this new system was the extension of education to the *children of both sexes*. The committee, in a report to the town at its meeting May, 1792, emphasizes the great advantages already received from this system, and in consideration of

the increased duties recommend that the Masters receive two hundred pounds annually.

The demand for a theatre, which undoubtedly had been growing for a considerable period, was brought to the attention of the town by a petition which caused an article for the meeting October 26, 1791, to see if the town would 'interest their representatives to endeavour a repeal of an Act passed July 1750, entitled an act to Prevent Stage Play, and other Theatrical Entertainments.' The motion that the petitioners have leave to withdraw was lost. It was then voted that Perez Morton, Esq., James Hughes, Esq., Mr. Charles Bulfinch, Captain James Prince, Samuel Cabot, Esq., Thomas Crafts, Esq., and Joseph Russell, Esq., be a committee to instruct the representatives to seek a repeal of the law. The committee in a letter to those gentlemen inform them that at a 'very full meeting,' and 'after a lengthy and deliberate debate they have determined by a very large majority' that the law 'operates as an undue restraint upon the liberty of the citizens.'

This was one of the first steps toward establishing a theatre in Boston. To all this Bulfinch gave hearty approval and help, indeed we must count him one of the chief movers. No Puritan by birth or training, and with little sympathy with repressive measures, he loved the beautiful and its full, free expression in life. We have seen his keen enthusiasm for the theatre on his New York–Philadelphia trip two years before, possibly preceded by similar experience and delight on his visit to Europe, and his artistic nature responded and made him eager to have the same opportunity for enjoyment in Boston. The law was not repealed, saved doubtless by the country constituency; but an attempt was made in 1792 to open a theatre which was suppressed by the authorities—it is said, at the instigation of Governor Hancock.

In this year Joseph Coolidge built his 'noble mansion' — as Bulfinch describes it in 1843, about the time of its removal, fronting on Middlecot, now Bowdoin Street — in the midst of extensive gardens which stretched from Cambridge Street to one hundred sixty-six feet south of Allston Street. Mr. N. I. Bowditch in his 'Gleaner' articles describes the land and says, 'This house and garden was altogether one of the most beautiful residences which have existed in our city within my memory.' The pity is that we have no illustration and no real description, except that it was built of brick, three stories high and about sixty feet square with ell, and had a very handsome staircase. Mr. Coolidge was a friend and neighbor of the Bulfinches, whose son Joseph a few years later married Bulfinch's sister Elizabeth. This mansion is supposed to be the first designed of Bulfinch's many single residences, no one of which is mentioned by him; and is a mark of the increasing prosperity which by this time was strongly manifest in the town. The Joseph Barrell mansion, to be considered later in the chapter on residences, also belongs to this period.

We are led to suppose that in this and in the majority of other residences Bulfinch supplied the general design, the proportions and the artistic motives, possibly also some interior plans adapted to the need of the owner. But so far as details of trim, of mantels, and of staircases were concerned, much was left to the housewrights who had practical experience and good models both in books — some English, some published in Boston — and in houses which they knew or had helped to build. That Bulfinch entered heartily into the ambitious desires of Mr. Coolidge is most natural, supplying him with the main design and following, as the work progressed, with ornamental ideas; profiting much by this practical contact with skilled builders. There is not the slightest trace of what he suggested for the design. Later he

built a series of residences which have one or more unmistakable Bulfinch marks, but the Coolidge house may or may not have displayed any of these characteristics.

In 1791, Bulfinch was made a member of a committee appointed by the town, at a meeting December 30th, to consider the petition of a considerable number of inhabitants who desired 'a more efficient police,' and that consideration be given to 'The present State of the Town.' This was one of a number of attempts to form a city government with which evidently Bulfinch was in sympathy. This committee reported in favor of a town council with much wider powers than possessed by the Selectmen and taking over much of the business usually transacted in town meeting. The report was rejected by a vote of 701 to 517.

On August 24th of this year, Bulfinch was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which John Adams was president at the time, and there is on file at the Academy building, Newbury Street, Boston, his letter of acceptance. We find also that he was Vice-President 1793–96, Librarian (probably not active) 1816–18, and member of the Council 1811–23. No record has been found of any paper read by him at any of the meetings.

Bulfinch's interests were many, as was natural for a man of his spirit and taste. In an Act of the General Court March 7, 1792, incorporating the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, Bulfinch is named with Samuel Adams, Joseph Barrell, Charles Vaughn, and others. We have no means of knowing how deep this interest in agriculture was or that it ever grew, but at least it is a hint of broad sympathy. At the annual meeting of the town in March, 1792, Bulfinch was reëlected to the Board of Selectmen, and during the year served on many committees, including those concerned with

the streets and the hospital, but after this year the extent of his service steadily declined.

By this time Boston, still a town in government, bound to the town meeting and the annual dictates of citizens who distrusted delegated powers in matters small and great, was in reality a growing city with questions of education and vice, health and poverty, and the increasing demands for town improvements including new and wider streets. Its commerce and industry were flourishing, fishing was on the increase, and trade was world-wide, advancing steadily with the East and West Indies. In the Northwest Coast–Canton trade fourteen out of sixteen vessels belonged to Boston, helping to crowd the harbor with sail, as on a day in October, 1791, when seventy put out to sea. The town business then and for years to come was handled by a small group of men, the bulk of whieh devolved upon the Selectmen. In this school Bulfinch learned much by observance and experience which stood him well in hand in later years.

All this activity of a population of over eighteen thousand in 1790, and growing rapidly, led not only to a demand for finer residences, to meet which Bulfinch applied himself, as we shall see later, but to general business expansion, including that of banking. Congress had funded the national debt, including that of the States incurred for national defence, and had established a national bank and a mint. Some indication of the increase of financial interests is seen in the establishment of the United States Branch Bank in 1791 and of the Union Bank in 1792, which, with the Massachusetts Bank dating from 1784, gave Boston at this time fairly adequate banking facilities. New lawyers, merchants, and statesmen had come to the front; the future was bright with promise.

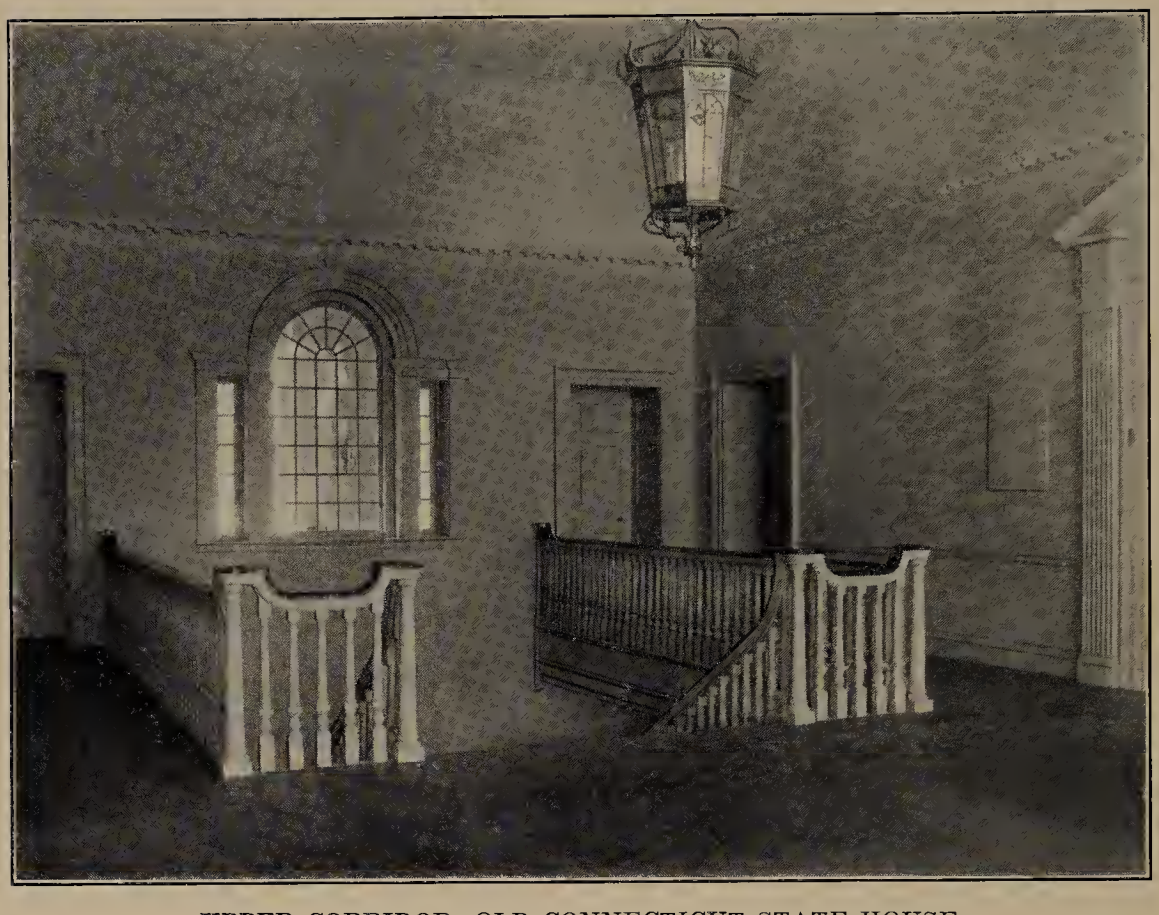
It seems strange that no records have been found in Bulfinch's

writings or in the family records concerning the State House at Hartford, Connecticut, but it is certain that plans had been drawn by him as early as September, 1792, and probably before that time. Though he had submitted a plan for the Massachusetts State House in 1787, the Connecticut State House was the first public building erected from his design. Situated in State House Square, Hartford, on the plot of land which was a part of the first purchase made by the English within the present limits of Connecticut, with unobstructed view across the green to the river at the east, the structure was a commanding symbol of a growing commonwealth. The painting in an old clock case gives us an idea of the building on the green; and though the early setting has been lost and we cannot see it as it was, the original beauty still appeals to us much as when completed in 1796. It is a delight to see this monument of State and civic pride so well restored, and it will become increasingly evident to the people of Hartford in particular that the decision to preserve and restore the old 'City Hall,' to which purpose the Old State House had been devoted in 1879, was not only wise, but a blessing to all who cherished the past expressed in architecture or the deeds of men. Some day the people of Hartford and the State of Connecticut will make another restoration and let this, one of the best-proportioned of public buildings, look out again to the east upon its original and true setting where the unhurried eye may behold its balanced grace and beauty. A representation of the building as originally finished may be found in the Colonel Jeremiah Halsey portrait, now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society, of which it forms part of the background. The balustrade was added in 1815 and the cupola in 1822, both doubtless in the original design. It is stated that the cupola is copied from one on the New York City Hall, and though the lines are good they are not those by Bulfinch.

OLD STATE HOUSE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

The restoration, begun in 1918 — difficult because of the many changes, especially after the occupancy by the city — has been done in a sympathetic and skilful spirit and deserves great praise. Examination proved that the foundations and outer walls were in excellent condition; the foundations are four to five feet thick and the first story, twenty feet high, constructed of Portland (Connecticut) freestone three feet thick, and the upper story thirty feet high, of brick in Flemish bond two feet thick. All floor timbers were replaced with steel beams and the roof and cupola supported on steel trusses. In the interior a part of the work is a close restoration, and the remainder is a new finish as much as possible in harmony with the building. The structure is fifty by one hundred twenty feet with east and west porticoes forty feet each. The south door is a restoration very close to original location and finish. The figure of Justice on the cupola now faces west and Main Street instead of east as formerly. The eastern portico opened through arches to a corridor likewise open on the west through the western portico. There were no solid outer walls with doors as at present, and the side walls of the corridor were constructed of selected brick exposed to view. From this corridor, as at present, the staircases ran westward on the north and south walls, to landings from which, bending in, they meet in a common landing, then ascending by a broader flight eastward to the floor above. The direction of these stairs had been changed, and they are now rebuilt in the old location and in harmony with the original ideas.

From the open (now closed) corridor two doors led to the Superior Court Chamber on the north, a room approximately forty-four feet square and twenty feet high. Absolutely changed in more than a hundred years, leaving nothing to suggest the former ornamentation, it now is refinished in the Doric order on lines somewhat similar to



UPPER CORRIDOR, OLD CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE

Doric Hall in the Massachusetts State House, and quite in harmony with the rest of the building and Bulfinch's spirit. The gallery on the south in its original location is reached from the first landing of the north flight of stairs in the corridor. Across the corridor from the courtroom were the former executive offices, still showing traces of original finish, with an open fireplace and mantel in the former Governor's office, simple and good as when first built there. These rooms display little architectural interest save in the general lines and in the mouldings of the doors and windows. The main staircase was not continued above the second floor, but access to the third floor, which extends only over the hall and connecting with the gallery of the House of Representatives, was by a spiral staircase from the Secretary

of State's office over the west portico, now refinished in conformity to the general interior, the Palladian window giving light through this room to the second-floor corridor. At the east the colonnaded portico is one of the chief architectural features of the building, the columns of which were formerly of brick, covered with stucco and painted.

The glory of the former interior was undoubtedly in the two great rooms on the second floor, and there we find it to-day, restored in some particulars, but essentially the same as when first finished. In the

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OLD CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE

House of Representatives the columns supporting the gallery on the south have been removed and are now reproduced as are also the fireplaces. The ceiling is new, and the chandeliers, both memorial

gifts, one in each chamber, are modern yet beautiful in themselves and in the adornment they add. In the Senate the fireplaces are original, though the over-mantels and a few other features, including the ceiling, are reproductions. The window-trim in this room is uncommon and interesting. These rooms are both approximately forty-five by forty-six feet and thirty feet high; rich in architectural ornamentation, well balanced, and with a grace and charm that appeal.

The main architectural design of the building, with its almost perfect proportions and the other features which make the structure so good, belong to Bulfinch, but it hardly appears that all the interior finish can be ascribed to him. General lines were given, but much of the trim was due to the skill, by no means uncommon, of the carpenters or housewrights of the time. So with regard to the material used in construction; the architect might suggest and advise, but the decision rested upon local judgment involving resources of money and skill. That this was true in Hartford will be seen in the history to which we now come — a history of interest not only to the citizens of Connecticut, but beyond its borders.

Some time after the adoption of the United States Constitution by Connecticut, a new State House was agitated, and in May, 1792, a petition was presented to the Legislature setting forth that £743 had been subscribed. One of Hartford's leading citizens signing this paper was Thomas Seymour, the first Mayor when Hartford became a city in 1784. An Act of the General Assembly was passed at once appointing a committee consisting of 'John Chester, Noadiah Hooker, John Caldwell, John Trumbull, and John Morgan, prominent citizens of Hartford,' to superintend the business of erecting and finishing a large and convenient State House, in the Town of Hartford, 'with authority to draw upon the State for the sum of 1500 pounds, provided a like sum

SENATE CHAMBER, OLD CONNECTICUT STATE HOUSE

was raised from the City, Town and County of Hartford by May 1st, 1793.'

By June 1st, $3500 had been subscribed by the citizens of Hartford, the county at large soon followed with $1500; and on August 27th the committee advertised in the 'Hartford Courant' for material to be used in construction. The record of greatest importance is a letter written by John Trumbull the painter and a member of the committee.

HARTFORD, *September* 30, 1792

DEAR SIR: — A new State House is to be built here next year upon a Design of Mr. Bulfinch, which I think is worth executing in the best

Materials. The Committee have determined to make great use of Middletown Stone — but as the Colour of that is not beautiful, I have propos'd to them to make use of the Philadelphia marble, such as us'd in the front of the new library (if the price be not too extravagant), in the more elegant parts of the Building.

I will thank you therefore to ask of some of the principal workmen the price at which they will execute the following work: — a band of facia such as is common in the Philadelphia Houses, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet Deep or wide to project out of the wall two inches — how much pr foot?

— another facia 9 inches wide to project an Inch & half at bottom & the wall retiring above it half a brick so that the upper surface will be 6 Inches from the face of the wall — sloping to serve as a water-table.

— a Doric Cornice the proportion of which is Two feet and a half — its depth proportional.

— a Doric Column whose Shaft is 19 feet high: — Diameter 2 feet 4 inches L — the base to be one block, the Column in Three.

— a Doric Pilaster of the same proportions.

— The pedestal six feet high, but divested of its mouldings.

— The entablature five feet Deep with its triglyphs & Stars.

— The blocks over windows of four feet plain.

The whole of the work to be executed in the style of the Pilasters of the new Library — that is Chissell'd only, not polish'd.

as I may be out of the way — you will be so good as to convey the answers to these questions to Col. Chester at Wethersfield, who is one of the Committee; & who enters with zeal into the idea of having an elegant and durable building.

if you will further take the trouble of making some enquiry whether it be possible to get one of the best workmen of Philadelphia to

superintend the Masonry and Brick work of the Building, you will further oblige, — I presume that Mr. John Morgan who is another of the committee will be in Philadelphia in the course of the month on this subject the previous enquiries you may be so good as to make will be of much use to him.

As you are a Connecticut and almost a Hartford man, I need make no apology for so many questions, since they tend to the Honor of the state.

I beg my best respects to Mrs. Wolcott & am with much Esteem,

Dr. Sir,

Your friend & servant,

JOHN TRUMBULL *painter.*

(Addressed to)
OLIVER WOLCOTT ESQ.
Comptroller of the Treas. of the U.S. Phil.

Here we have satisfying evidence that Bulfinch was the architect; and some light on the question of material. It is to be noted that marble is suggested wholly for *ornamental* purposes, quite in line with what Bulfinch would have been likely to suggest and as we see illustrated in the Massachusetts State House. That this was not carried out was due doubtless to the matter of expense. It would have added much to the finish of the building whether constructed entirely of brick or in part of stone.

The work was begun in the spring of 1793, the Legislature in May approving the 'best plan' which the committee had obtained and submitted to the Legislature in May calling 'for the building of the lower story with hewn stone which would occasion great additional expense.' From this it is clear that there was no plan when the building was authorized in May, 1792; and we know from the record of an

expense voucher that John Chester, the chairman of the committee, went to Boston in September following for the plan, and that the committee had decided upon 'Middletown stone' when Trumbull wrote his letter to Oliver Wolcott September 30th. Trumbull realized that the color of the proposed stone was not beautiful and that it would conflict with the hue of the brick, and therefore proposed the use of marble for relief and ornamentation. It is noteworthy that Trumbull in his 'Reminiscences' published in 1841, makes no mention of his connection with the construction of the Connecticut State House.

At the same time the committee's plan was approved, a State lottery for $5000 was authorized, twelve and one half per cent of which was to be applied to the building fund to cover the additional expense in the use of stone. The lottery did not meet with great success, owing to the fact that so many other lotteries were in progress in other States; but the work on the building progressed and by the middle of the following year the walls were practically completed. The committee then determined, in order to save the building from the exposure of winter, to roof and close it in. This was done on the personal security of the five members.

Thus the matter rested at the close of 1794. In 1795, Colonel Jeremiah Halsey and General Andrew Ward offered to complete the building in consideration of a conveyance by the State of title to the 'Gore Lands.' These men gave bonds in $40,000 to complete the structure and a deed to the land was given, dated July 25, 1795. The work then went forward rapidly and the building was ready for occupancy in 1796; Oliver Wolcott to whom Trumbull had written in 1792 being inaugurated Governor there on May 13th. A committee appointed in Oetober, 1796, to inquire into the cost of the building, reported that $17,480 had been expended up to the close of 1794, and

that 'Col. Halsey informs your committee that he expended in completing the State House $35,000.' The Legislature in June, 1796, approved Colonel Halsey's account for furniture, amounting to £334–19–8.

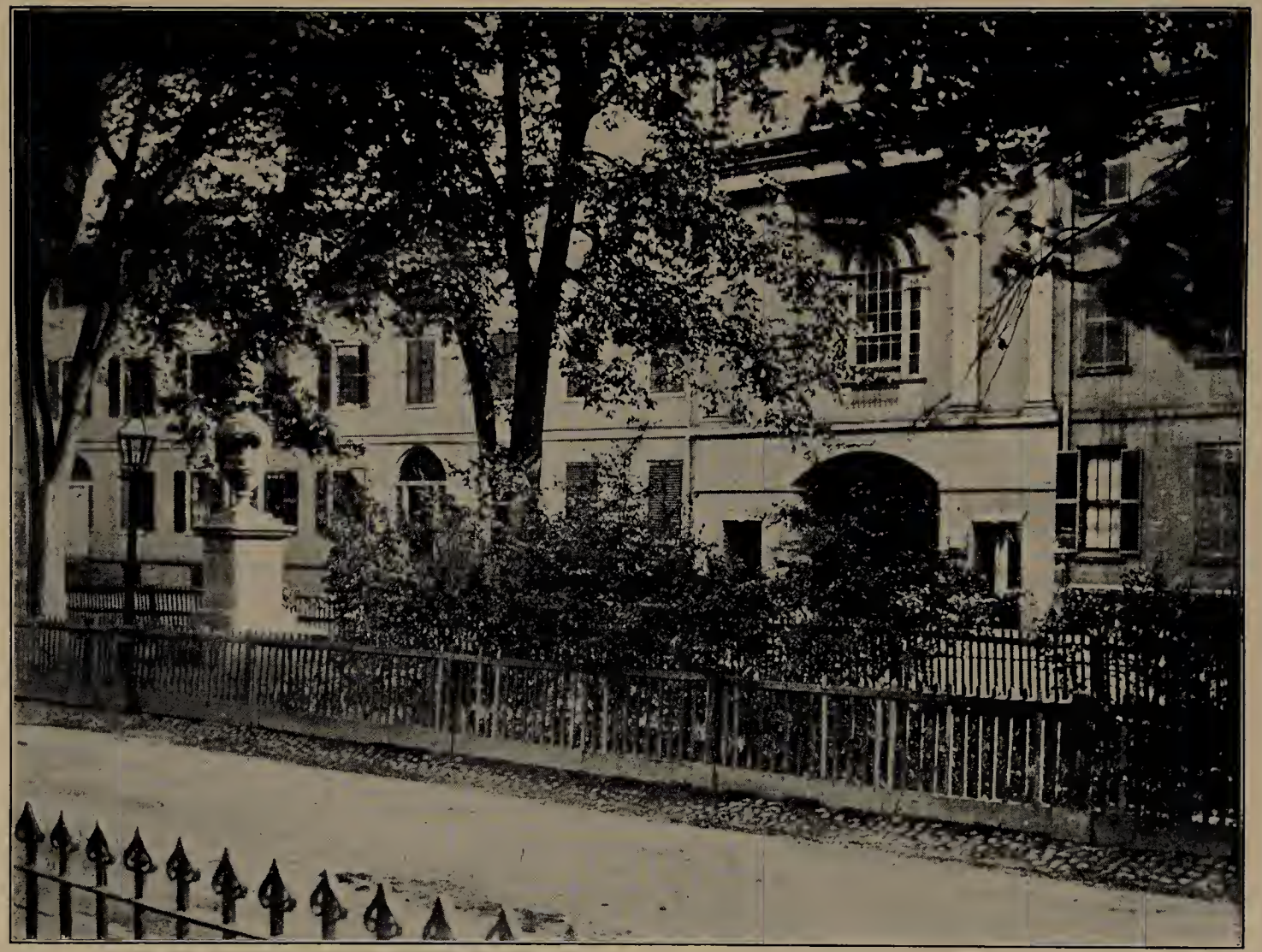
There is no evidence that Bulfinch devoted any time to personal supervision of the erection of the building. Not only is there a voucher of John Leffingwell, who was in charge of construction, that reads, 'June 1793 to my expenses to Boston £6–3–8,' which may be interpreted as concerned with a consultation with the architect, but Bulfinch's presence in Boston can be established so continuously that anything more than a brief absence was impossible. From the spring of 1793 onward he was absorbed in work in Boston and especially in his own venture in Franklin Place.

CHAPTER IV

FRANKLIN PLACE AND THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

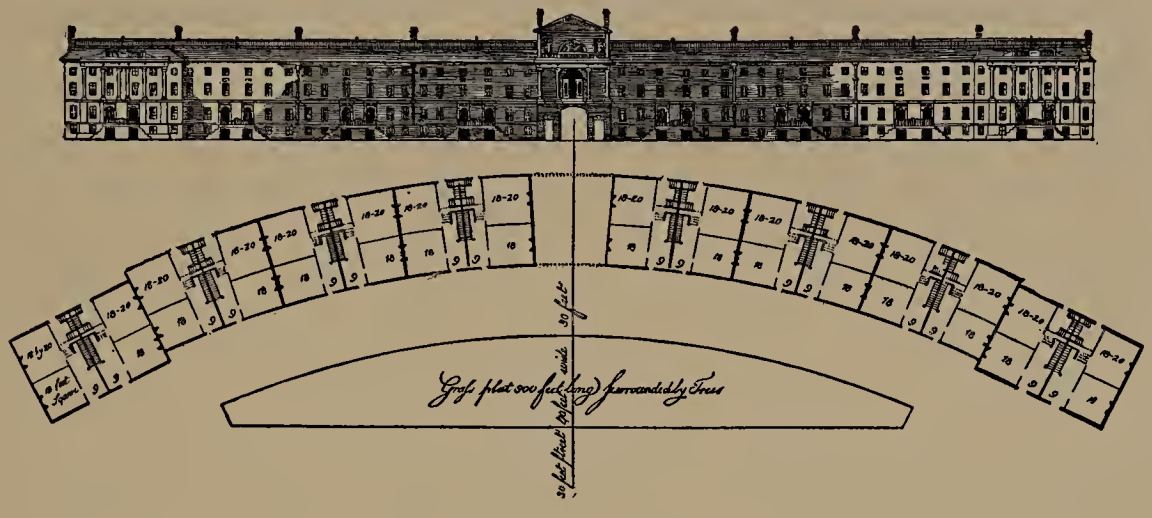
IN 1793, a beginning was made on a scheme that probably had been in the mind of Bulfinch since his return from Europe and in response now to an increasing demand for new dwellings of the better kind. The full story of the Tontine plan in Franklin Place will never be written, because the scanty records leave many obscure points untouched. The brief reference by Bulfinch, written years afterward, presents only a blurred picture, and Mrs. Bulfinch's record adds but a shadow lit by the sunshine of her sweet spirit with no touch of bitterness. In 1793, fortune smiled upon Bulfinch, then in the full tide of his career, and he gave himself with artistic zest to the ideas that crowded upon him. The Tontine scheme was an association for building dwellings on the annuity plan as practiced in Europe, and though the General Court refused to incorporate, Bulfinch and his brother-in-law Charles Vaughn went ahead, Vaughn purchasing the estate of Joseph Barrell lying north on Summer Street, May 10, 1793.

The plan was for a series of connected dwellings, sixteen in all, from an idea which Bulfinch probably obtained in England, not unlikely, as has been suggested, from a design by the Adam brothers seen by Bulfinch when in England. This was of two semi-circles facing each other with a park space between, but though we are assured that no crescents are known in London as late as 1804, the Adam brothers are credited with combining dwellings in large blocks. Credit for introducing this type of building in Boston is due to Bulfinch, but, though the south curved line, four hundred eighty feet in extent, may be seen today in Franklin Street below Hawley, the north line was straight.



THE TONTINE BUILDINGS, SHOWING THE ARCH AND THE FRANKLIN MEMORIAL

Between these lines was a semi-oval strip of land three hundred feet long devoted to grass and trees in which opposite the arch Bulfinch placed an urn which he had imported from Europe, as a memorial to Franklin then recently deceased.



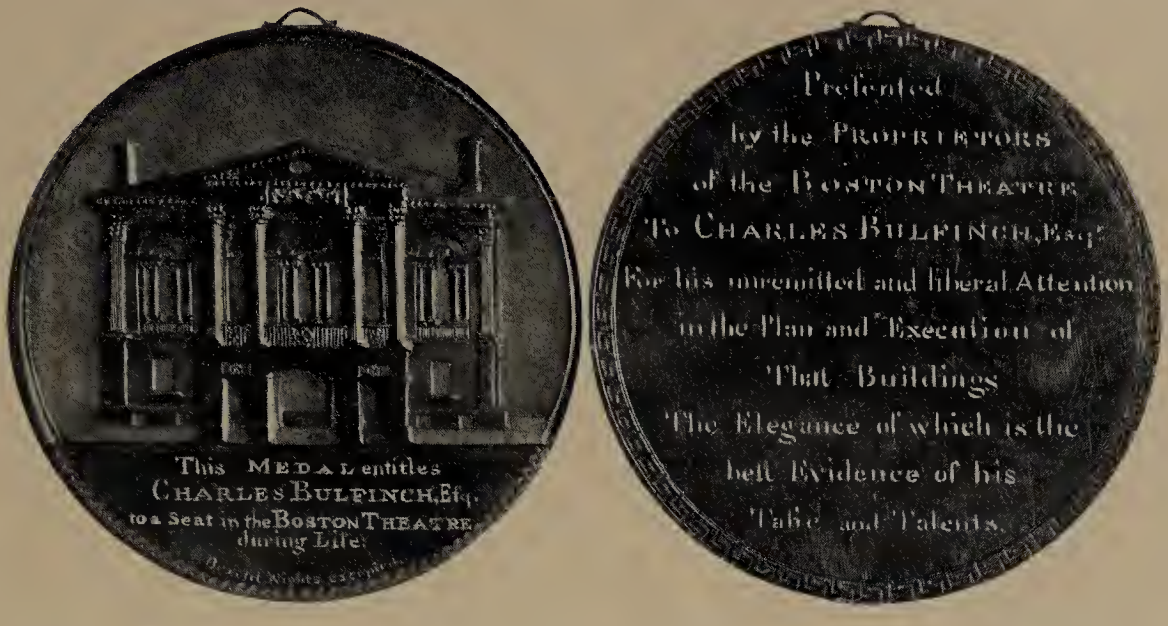
PLAN OF TONTINE CRESCENT FROM 'MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE,' 1794

Half of the block on the crescent, including the middle portion, was so far advanced that the promoters, on December 31st, wrote to the Massachusetts Historical Society, 'In erecting the center building of the Crescent it was our intention to accommodate the Historical Society with a convenient room.' This gift was accepted by the Society at a meeting January 10, 1794, and conveyance made May 1st following. Out of the tangle of many conveyances it seems evident that, though the original plan included all the block on the crescent, only fifty shares were sold applying to numbers one to eight; and that Vaughn began to transfer his shares and his landholdings May 3, 1794. At that time William Scollay increased his shares, holding at the end, January, 1796, the bulk. Vaughn, though no longer active, seems to have been a creditor.

Another mark of the influence of Bulfinch was in the new theatre.

Not only was he a trustee with Perez Morton, Joseph Russell, Henry Jackson, and Samuel Brown, but one of the active movers in the enterprise from the beginning of the agitation. At a town meeting January 22, 1793, a 'remonstrance' was sent to the General Court that the inhabitants of Boston consider the law 'made antecedent to the establishment of our present free and happy form of government as unconstitutional, inexpedient and absurd'; and a committee, composed in part of Joseph Russell (town treasurer), Perez Morton, John Quincy Adams, Paul Revere, and Harrison Gray Otis, was appointed to cooperate in the matter and authorized to wait upon the Governor with a copy of the resolutions and present an address. In the following July, land on Federal Street was conveyed to the trustees of the Boston Theatre and the work of building pushed with such dispatch that the house was opened February 3, 1794. This theatre, after years of Puritan opposition, was a triumph of the new social spirit which set its stamp upon the town and against gloom and bigotry. The face portrayed by Mather Brown suggests how whole-heartedly Bulfinch entered into this newer and freer life and with what satisfaction he attended the opening performance.

Our knowledge of the building is furnished by the gold medal given to Bulfinch, showing a façade of architectural merit with lines close to those in a little sketch by him marked 'Crunden's design,' and with window motives used in the Massachusetts State House. The medal, still in the possession of the family, is a heavy piece of gold of artistic merit, carrying on the reverse side the inscription, 'Presented by the Proprietors of the Boston Theatre to Charles Bulfinch, Esqr. for his unremitted and Liberal Attention in the Plan and Execution of that Buildings [*sic*], the Elegance of which is the best Evidence of his Taste and Talents.' We may imagine that the interior beauty was not much



MEDAL AWARDED TO BULFINCH BY THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BOSTON THEATRE
The obverse shows the front of the Theatre

different from that of the second theatre which quickly replaced the first, destroyed by fire in 1798, and opened in October. This plainer structure, sixty by one hundred fourteen feet, designed by Bulfinch, built of brick, had a circular ceiling on arches carried by Corinthian columns. The stage was flanked by two columns and two tiers of boxes, the upper one of which was hung with crimson silk. The walls were painted azure, the columns straw and lilac color, and the balusters were gilt. In the wing, fifty-one by sixteen feet, was a spacious ball-room with a cuisine beneath. The property on the corner at the very foot of Franklin Place, including a scene-painter's shop thirty-five by fifteen feet and 9987 feet of land, was taxed in 1798 for $20,000.

Some idea of the cost of the original enterprise is found in a conveyance to William Clap, under date of December 1, 1794, of 'one undivided sixtieth part' in the theatre for which he paid £242, 'lawful money.' Because of its bearing on the furnishings and the success of the first short season, it seems worth while to reprint a letter of

SECOND THEATRE

Bulfinch to Mr. J. Taylor which was published in 'Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch.'

Boston, *June* 11, 1794

Dear Sir, — I have now the pleasure of forwarding to you a bill of Exchange, drawn by Stephen Higginson Esq. upon Messrs. F. M. &. D. Smit of Rotterdam, and payable in London. I have been anxious to remit this amount to you before, but all opportunities from this place have been prevented by an embargo of nearly 3 months, which has interrupted the regular course of business. At the foot I shall place a statement of your account with the Proprietors of the Theatre, and hope this remittance will cover all charges.

The Trustees of the Theatre direct me to make their acknowledgements to you for your attention and kindness in procuring so elegant a set of embellishments for thcir house.

The price has much exceeded their expectations, but they pay it with cheerfulness, as they are confident articles of equal elegance could not be procured on better terms. They have determined to allow you a commission of 5 P.C. on the purchase and interest as far as you have been obliged to pay it, or to advance. If these charges should exceed the sum now sent, please to make out a statement and charge the balance to my account, and it shall be paid immediately.

I have the satisfaction to be able to inform you that the Theatre meets the wishes and expectations of the public and even has drawn some marks of approbation from foreigners who have seen it. At my first leisure I shall give you a description of it, and of other extensive works carrying on here.

Mr. Powell is just closing his season, he has met with astonishing success, and his company has given satisfaction considering the short time he had to collect them in England; we however hope for a better, next winter. Mr. Powell promises that no exertions of his shall be wanting. I am &c.

The work on the 'Tontine Crescent' had so far progressed that the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, writing on September 20, 1794, enclosed a rough sketch showing the Crescent buildings extending from Hawley Street, the Theatre, Federal Street Church (of which he was pastor), but with no indication of the buildings on the north side of Franklin Place. That the four detached double houses which were built on the north side were planned by the close of 1794 and begun in the following year seems evident. Charles Vaughn had withdrawn, and William Scollay gave little support. Bulfinch, with the fervor of the creative genius, looked ahead refusing to be daunted. But the risk was great. To the uncertainty of politics and commerce was added the certainty

of the Jay Treaty, signed in November, 1794, which, while it averted war with England, at once in Boston and in the Nation at large was received with dismay and determined opposition. Democracy had leaned to France till it became clear that anarchy and license were not liberty and justice. The Citizen Genêt affair had demonstrated the cheap effrontery of mere citizenship not founded in principle. This Jay Treaty seemed a yoke of bondage restricting both trade and political freedom, yet England held the key to the financial situation and must be reckoned with, since any alliance with France now was impossible. In spite of all this gloom and chagrin, Bulfinch determined to push on. More deeply involving himself financially, one definite amount being $16,440, acknowledged to Harrison Gray Otis and David Sears in December, 1794, he proceeded to erect the four double houses on the north of Franklin Place, which must have gone forward rapidly, since one half of one of them, number 22, was conveyed by Bulfinch on October 15, 1795, for $8000. This conveyance was to John McLean, later the generous benefactor of the Massachusetts General Hospital, whose name is perpetuated in McLean Hospital.

During the years 1793–94, Bulfinch had little time to devote to the affairs of the town. Elected to the Board of Selectmen in both years, he served on a few not important committees, but in 1794 was seldom present at the Board meetings. In November, 1793, the West Boston Bridge to Cambridge was opened, making the second bridge to afford communication with the mainland. The bridge to Charlestown had been opened in 1785. On September 5, 1794, Bulfinch was made chairman of a committee to erect a new building on Deer Island, which is mentioned as completed when the Board visited the Island in July following, but no plan or description has been found. Reëlected again to the Board of Selectmen, March 9th, he declined on account of

A NORTH-SIDE HOUSE ON FRANKLIN PLACE

pressure of business and received the 'thanks of the town' for his good services. In the records of these four years we have a glimpse of the growing town, and of Bulfinch's part in it. With his fellow-citizens he was concerned with schools, better streets, the poor and the sick, with markets and fair methods of trade; and was associated with men of character and vision, with whom he labored for better conditions and life.

No definite action was taken on the proposal made by the Town of Boston in January, 1793, to build a new State House for the Commonwealth on any spot within the town and on any model, providing the cost did not exceed £9000, and that the State would grant £2000, the old State House and the Province House; but on February 11, 1795, the town authorized a committee to procure land for the State House, and on February 16th, the Governor approved the Resolve of the General Court adopting Bulfinch's plan and making him one of three agents for its erection. For the next few years he was concerned with the new State House, the vision and plan of which had been in his mind since his return from England. His first plan was submitted November 5, 1787; and now, after years of hope and waiting, he was to have the deep satisfaction of helping to objectify his own design in the town of his birth. His connection with this structure was more personal and intimate than with any other of his designs. He had a real part in the effort of the citizens which had resulted in the decision to build, and now at the age of thirty-one years he was to be associated with two men who represented the best of their times.

Thomas Dawes, the member of the committee appointed from the Senate, was born in Boston, in 1731; 'Mr. Jonathan Smoothingplane' the Tories called him; and because of his conspicuous part in the early scenes of the Revolution he incurred the anger of the Royalists and

his house in Purchase Street, next to Samuel Adams's, was sacked by the British troops before their removal from Boston. 'Col. Dawes,' 'The Honab'l Thomas Dawes,' served the State as Senator and on the Governor's Council, and the town faithfully for a long period as member of the school and other important committees, and for many years was the town's efficient and esteemed Moderator. Highly respected citizen, he had, from his trade as mason learned in youth, risen to be a practical and successful builder.

Edward Hutchinson Robbins, of Milton, Speaker of the House and appointed from that body, was born in 1758. Well-connected, cultured, wealthy, a man of the highest integrity and so esteemed by his fellows, he was well fitted to coöperate in the work in which he delighted. From his estate in Calais, Maine, came the solid columns for the State House, which were carved on the ground in Boston.

The laying of the corner-stone on July 4, 1795, was picturesque and impressive. Hauled to its place on a truck decorated with ribbons and drawn by fifteen white horses, representing the then fifteen States of the Union, it was laid by Governor Samuel Adams assisted by the Grand Lodge of Masons — Paul Revere, Grand Master. As architect, Bulfinch's task was to interpret and advise; but upon him also devolved much of the purchasing as well as many of the business details. It must have been a duty greatly to his liking.

Absorbed in his work in Franklin Place and the State House, the year 1795 passed bringing ever nearer the fatal hour in January, 1796. Bulfinch records that only half of the Tontine shares were subscribed for, the remainder continuing at the risk of the company; and that, as Vaughn had been seriously advised by his brother in London against the undertaking, 'I agreed to discharge him from all obligation and take his share of the concern upon myself.'

'Mr. Scollay too was little able to make advances, still I was so sanguine respecting the success of the project, that I persevered in completing the whole range. But this was done at heavy interest on loans and losses on forced sales, till on the eve of an expected rupture with England, just before the settlement of topics of dispute by Mr. Jay's treaty, property of every kind was at so low an ebb that no sales could be made and no further loans obtained and I was obliged to become bankrupt and assign the property for creditors; in the consequences of this project, my father and brother G. Storer were involved as my endorsers.

'With what remorse have I looked back on these events, when blindly gratifying a taste for a favorite pursuit, I involved for life myself and wife with our children — my father and mother and sisters, who all held the utmost confidence in my measures and pride in my expected success.

'They all bore the loss and mortification without repining. My inexperience and that of my agents in conducting business of this nature, together with my earnest desire to discharge all demands as far as possible, led me to surrender all my property, even that obtained by marriage, which was intended to be secured to my wife and her heirs but from a defect in the form of settlement this property was included with the rest, and I found myself reduced to my personal exertions for support. I had some satisfaction in knowing that not one of my creditors was materially injured, many were secured to the full amount, and the deduction on the balance due to workmen did not exceed 10 P.C. on their entire bills.'

It must be remembered that Bulfinch wrote this years afterward at the close of his life and that dates and events were obscure. As has been stated before, the persistency which led to his failure was in the

year 1795, following the signing, November, 1794, of the Jay Treaty, which was ratified in the succeeding August. He continues, 'Soon after my failure my younger sister was married to Joseph Coolidge, son of Joseph Coolidge, Esq., merchant, who purchased the mansion house in Bowdoin Square, and enlarged and repaired it for his son, and I had the gratification to see my good father and mother living for the remainder of their lives under the roof of their own home, tenderly attended to by their daughter and her worthy and liberal husband.'

Dimly and imperfectly we realize something of the bitter chagrin Bulfinch felt. Whether this calamity narrowed or widened his opportunity to enter into real life and to impress himself upon it, it is impossible to say. Both husband and wife bore the blow with Christian fortitude. Her character is revealed in two records. The first is entered under date of July 12, 1795: 'Affluence and content are ours, virtue and innocence the aim of our lives, the object of our wishes. Four families consisting of Brothers and Sisters, situated near each other and by affection still nearer, what more can we wish for except the continuance of our family harmony, and improvement in piety and benevolence. The world has nothing more to give, and we must own with humility these are above our deserts. Let me . . . for my own advantage upon this grateful retrospect copy the sublime instructions of my favorite Blair.' The passage begins, 'As men, then, bethink yourselves of human instability.' The coming event here seems to have cast its shadow on her mind.

The other record is by one of her sons and runs: 'They say that while everything in the habits of the woman of fortune inconsistent with her altered circumstances was dropped instantly, and the business habits of a good housekeeper immediately adopted, she never laid aside, in any scenes of joy or sorrow, the deportment of a lady, nor the

graceful unembarrassed manner in which she could still meet the friends of former days, delighting in their society and ever cheerful and attractive in it. But in the narrow circle of home, to which her increasing cares confined her almost exclusively, she seemed to feel no want of other society than that of her husband and her children.'

The couple were obliged to give up their home in Middlecot Street and to occupy a small house the rent of which was paid by Mrs. Bulfinch's brother. Great and sudden change — an ample home, a chaise, a man-servant and two or more maid-servants — to this little house with rent paid by another! A few months later they accepted the invitation of the Storers — George and Bulfinch's sister, likewise in straitened circumstances by reason of Bulfinch's failure — to share the same house and unitedly support their two families. This arrangement in Southack's Court continued till 1799, 'united by interest and every tie gratitude can form.'

From original drawing

Just before this failure, Bulfinch did a characteristic act by deeding to the Boston Library Society the lower room over the arch. Bulfinch was one of the incorporators of the Society with Scollay, Vaughn, and others, June 17, 1794. Now, with ever-darkening clouds, carrying alone the whole burden of the Franklin Place scheme, he deeds for five shillings 'and the encourage-

ment of literature,' and Mrs. Bulfinch places her name on the paper. The year before, June 25, 1795, the Massachusetts Society for the Aid of Immigrants was incorporated by Bulfinch, Vaughn, Theodore Lyman, and others. It was in these many ways Bulfinch gave himself to the service of his fellows.

Now comes the insistent question, why did Charles Bulfinch fail? Why did both Vaughn and Scollay withdraw? Were they unduly cautious and insistent upon curtailing and he oversanguine and equally determined to complete? In the face of lessening trade and commerce, with the Jay Treaty still unratified, new and elegant dwellings did not find ready sale. Money, too, was scarce and high; the Bank of England, straining every nerve, just escaped bankruptcy. But the condition of business alone fails to give us an answer. Before the failure, Bulfinch had sold seven houses, at least, not including numbers one to eight, and including one on the north side which brought $8000. What were his obligations January 15, 1796, and what then was the attitude of Vaughn and Scollay? On January 21, 1796, the fatal day, Bulfinch conveyed the balance, or his equity, to Charles Vaughn, and three days later, January 24th, William Scollay conveyed his Tontine shares involving numbers one to eight to Jonathan Mason and others. There is no record of costs of land and construction. Why, and by whom was settlement demanded? On March 20, 1798, Harrison Gray Otis wrote to his wife from Philadelphia, 'Charles Bulfinch arrived yesterday and dined with me this day. He looks forlorn and dejected and gives me but little satisfaction with respect to Vaughn.' Bulfinch gave no hint; but Mrs. Bulfinch, under date of September 1, 1796, writes, 'Let me rejoice that we have health, friends and a good conscience'; and again, 'Creditors hard and unfeeling refuse to my husband that settlement which again would leave him free to exert his

THE ARCH, TONTINE BUILDINGS, BOSTON

faculties for the support of his family. We are consequently still dependent.'

Charles Bulfinch's venture went upon the rocks just at dawn. Trade revived soon after the qualified acceptance of the treaty in August, 1795, and within a short time Boston commerce was reaching toward its greatest volume. By 1798, every one of the twenty-four dwellings had been sold with an assessed value of over $125,000. It may be of interest to see who owned or occupied these dwellings in 1798.

Number 1, William Tudor; 2, Benjamin Green; 3, J. Perkins, occupier, J. and T. H. Perkins, owners; 4, Samuel Cobb; 5, John Murray; 6, Stephen Higginson, Jr.; 7, George Blake, owner, Edward Tuckerman, Jr., occupier; 8, Joseph Foster; 9, William Payne, owner, William Daggin, occupier; 10, John Callender; 11, John Marston; 12, Benjamin Cobb, owner, Isaac Hall, occupier; 13, Abigail Howard; 14, William Welch; 15, Samuel Parkman, owner, Ebenezer Preble, occupier; 16, Samuel Parkman, owner, Edward Blake, Jr., occupier; 17, John Lucas; 18, John Osborn; 19, John Welles; 20, Mrs. Elizabeth Amory; 21, Thomas C. Amory; 22, John McLean; 23, John Hubbard; 24, Don Juan Stoughton, Spanish Consul.

All our knowledge of the Franklin Place houses is found in the little ground plan and the old photographs. The end houses in the Crescent were projected slightly and carried pilasters; otherwise the structure was plain, save in the string-course and the ornamentation of the middle part at the arch. These buildings and those on the north were built of brick with details shown in the illustrations, the most outstanding of which are the pilaster treatment and the arched recess repeated in other buildings of later design.

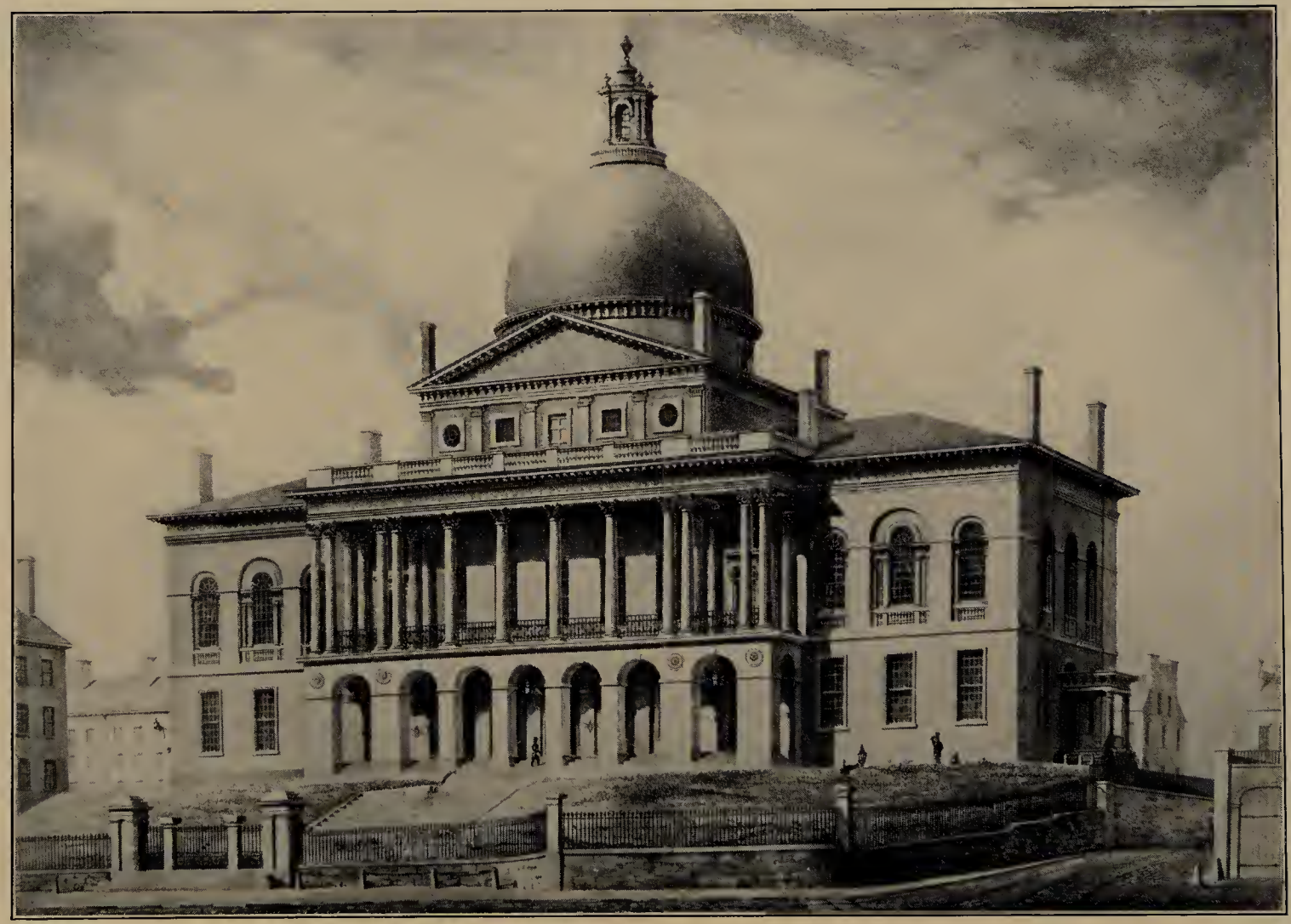
After the disaster of Franklin Place, Bulfinch continued his work on the State House happy in the continued respect and confidence of his

friends and fellow-townsfolk. There is almost no other record for the years 1796–98. In January, 1798, the State House was ready for occupancy by the General Court, though the finishing required more than a year beyond this date. Here was one high hope fulfilled despite other failures; and January 11, 1798, was a bright day for Charles Bulfinch as well as for his fellow-citizens. The heart of this noble gentleman must have beat high as he, a truly conspicuous figure, marched in the procession that made its way from the old State House in State Street to occupy this new structure on Beacon Hill.

No building in Massachusetts is more worthy of interest and homage than the State Capitol in Boston, set high on Beacon Hill, with its commanding view of the Common. It has many cherished associations, and a valued history; men high in the moral action of State and Nation have trod its halls; out of it went men with lofty resolves on sacred mission; to it have been returned flags, precious tokens to past and present generations. But our interest here is primarily with its architecture.

The general lines of the elevation are clearly evident, though some of the original details are obscure. The Pendleton Lithograph of 1827, or shortly after, is the most satisfactory of the earliest known illustrations of the buildings. The stone wall surmounted by the iron fence was erected in 1826. A print of 1817, from A. Bowen's earlier woodcut, gives a cruder idea of the essential lines. The changes principally to be noted in the building as it stands to-day are the construction of a basement above the ground, and the building-out of a piazza with low balustrade from the steps which formerly ascended between the columns. This is distinctly at variance with Bulfinch's design and undoubtedly would have had his strong disapproval, inasmuch as he planned the building without a basement. The structure as

FRANKLIN PLACE, LOOKING DOWN



MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

From the Pendleton lithograph

it stands to-day, with the changes noted above, does not show the original proportions. A picture dating after 1865 shows a disfigurement to the front story caused by cutting the windows up to the string-course, later overcome by restoring the original lines. There is good evidence that the east end was constructed essentially as seen to-day with three arched windows; but the west end is notably different with five windows, unquestionably original, though the five smaller ones which cut the entablature almost up to the cornice, a construction impossible to reconcile with Bulfinch's taste, may be later openings.

The structure, one hundred and seventy-two feet by sixty-five feet, and with a dome rising one hundred and fifty-five feet, is constructed of red brick in Flemish bond, with white marble lintels and keystones. The brick was painted white in 1825. At the time of erection, the north side of the building was practically the same as the south, though much obscured by the hill which was higher back of it, removed in 1811. The north side was changed by the erection of the fireproof edifice in 1831, ninety feet long; and again later in 1855, when a new building was erected which extended the length of the Bulfinch building. The present cupola or 'lanthorn' is a reproduction of the original; and the beautiful dome, fifty-three feet in diameter, made fireproof by steel beams in the preservation of 1896–98, is in all essentials of line and proportion the dome of Bulfinch. It seems almost unbelievable that the dome had no protection from the

DOME OF STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

weather until 1802 when Paul Revere and Son covered it with copper. It was first gilded in 1861 and covered with gold leaf in 1874.

The story of the covering of the dome by Revere and Son and many other interesting facts are set forth by Miss Ellen M. Burrell in her little book, 'The State House.' Her untiring interest in the State House, extending through many years, has brought to light much that otherwise might have remained hidden.

DORIC HALL, SHOWING SOUTH DOOR

In spite of the many interior changes during one hundred years, we are especially fortunate to-day to behold the major part of the original beauty. Owing to the spirit which prevailed in 1896 to preserve the Bulfinch building, we find, especially in Doric Hall, the old Senate Chamber, the Old House, and the Council Chamber, the design of Bulfinch.

Doric Hall, approximately fifty-five feet square, which had in 1798 three doors leading from the portico, now has only one, rarely used. This door has the original trim so much in use in the buildings of that time, and is

panelled with a reed moulding, all that suggests the lighter treatment to be found on the floor above. A detail illustration of the hall shows the door and a part of the corniee of the room, together with two of the ten columns, five on each side, which led originally to a corresponding door on the north. The Roman Doric cornice is good, and the columns now exactly reproduced are interesting. These with the door treatment are the distinctly architectural features of the hall. On the north side of the hall are two tablets, one commemorating Bulfinch, and the other relating to the preservation of the Bulfinch building. Doric Hall has dignity and strength, a quiet beauty in keeping with an entranee hall from which one is to pass to something richer. There seems to be little else on the first floor of importance in determining Bulfinch's hand except the interesting old staircases with well-designed newels and decorated stair ends.

In the rooms on the second floor, whieh are to-day very true to the original design, we see Bulfinch at his best. The photographs reproduced, together with a few details, may serve to show the beauty of the designs. The old Senate Chamber in the east end is thirty-six by fifty-six feet on the floor, composed of a middle area thirty-six feet square and the addition of two bays on the south and north, each ten feet deep. A gallery on the west extends over the adjacent corridor. The bays carry an entablature from which a curved and highly ornamented ceiling springs, with designs on a delicate blue ground. The columns of the Greek Ionic order, enriched and suggesting the columns of the Erechtheum, have octagon bases with reed mouldings at the top. There were four fireplaces, two in the east wall in the bays, and two opposite in the west wall.

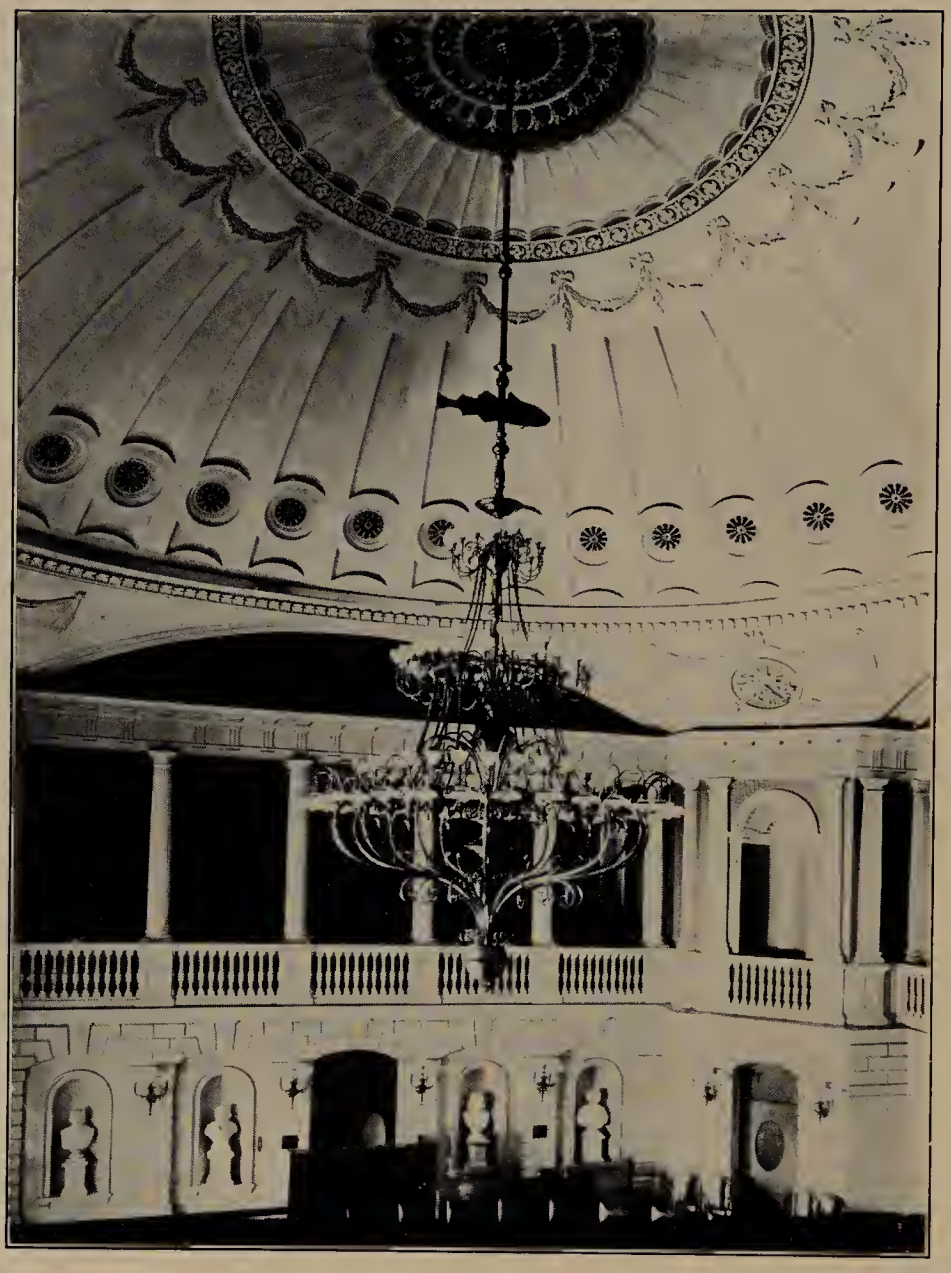
Thc three curved frames at the north represent openings which formerly were for windows. Now, as in 1798, there are three windows

THE OLD SENATE CHAMBER

in the south wall and three in the east wall, although a reprint of an old photograph after 1855 shows that the middle window had been closed. This was in the space directly back of the then President's chair. On the whole, the chamber to-day has the same lines and decoration as when built.

The old House, now used by the Senate, fifty-five feet square, is architecturally interesting, chiefly in the treatment of the domical ceiling, the east and west galleries and the north and south sides. The old arrangement of the House with square head windows is shown in the cuts published in 1852 and 1856; but they also show the small projecting galleries put in after the chamber was finished and later removed. The lower walls as seen to-day with a low dado, and the

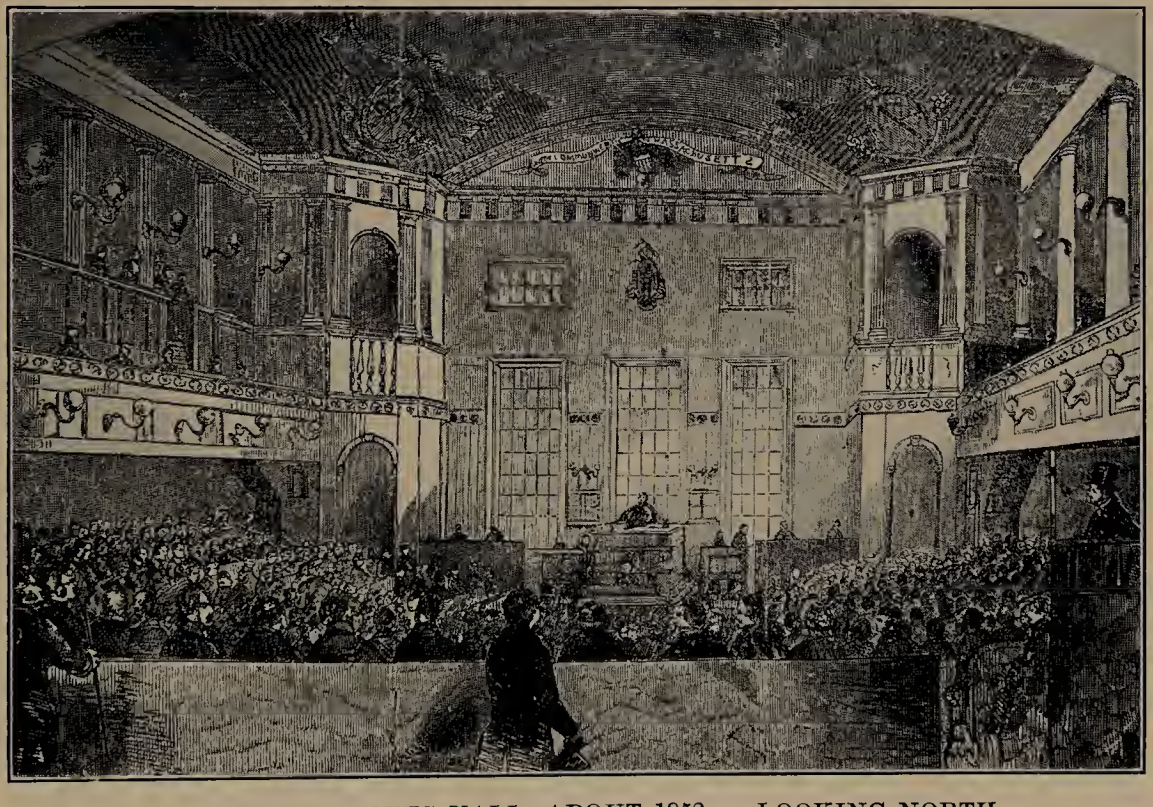
THE OLD HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



GALLERY AND CEILING, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

finish in imitation of block construction, broken ten feet from the floor by a narrow reed course, date from the changes made in 1866. At that time the fireplaces, one in each corner, were closed. Above these openings, between the springing of the arches, are emblems representing agriculture, commerce, peace, and war. No adequate description of the ceiling is possible. The photograph will help, and should be studied with the knowledge that the dark color in the small circles, in the centre, and in the larger circle around it, is a delicate blue. In this picture is to be seen the ancient codfish — emblem of the importance of the codfishing — transferred from the Old State House. The height from the floor to the centre of the cupola is approximately the same as the diameter of the ring, fifty feet.

On the second floor at the west end, our interest in the original finish is confined to the Council Chamber, though the plan of the old



REPRESENTATIVES HALL, ABOUT 1852 — LOOKING NORTH

corridor remains, containing the staircase with its changed location. The Governor's room had no part in the first plan and is finished to-day in harmony with the Council Chamber and contains an elaborate marble mantel, of later date than 1798. The Council Chamber is of especial interest because of the marked departure in its finish. The room has two windows at the south and two at the west, all recessed, and an interesting stone fireplace between the west windows, evidently on original lines, with an opening approximately three feet six inches by thirty-three inches. Whatever our perplexity regarding the construction of the west when compared with the east end, we are certain that the finish of the Chamber as it is to-day follows almost exactly the design first executed. On January 10, 1798, the day before the occupancy by the General Court, the 'Columbian Centinel' published a full description of the building including the Council Chamber. 'The council chamber . . . is twenty-seven feet square, and twenty high with a flat ceiling; the walls are finished with Corinthian pilasters and panels of stucco. These panels are enriched with the State arms, with emblems of executive power, the scale and sword of justice and the insignia of arts and freedom, the caduceus and cap of liberty, the whole decorated with wreaths of oak and laurel.' This evidence is conclusive. There is no mention of the Governor's room, but 'besides these principal rooms there are about twenty smaller, plainly finished for the use of committees.' There is little else to-day in the interior of the original building that can be ascribed to Bulfinch.

An examination of old papers relating to the State House shows there was little change in the general design offered by Bulfinch in 1795 from that of 1787. As early as June, 1787, a new State House was agitated, and on November 5th of that year Bulfinch wrote to the committee appointed to consider the matter submitting a plan which

COUNCIL CHAMBER, MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

OLD SENATE GALLERY, MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

Sir,

Boston June 21 1795

My estimate of the cost of a State House was made many years since, from such information as I could obtain from workmen, my own experience since that time has convinced me of the fallacy of estimates in general, and especially in buildings of a public nature

Presuming however, that my measures and calculations were accurate when the estimate was made, I have now added the difference in value of materials & workmanship; and find the whole amount to be near £ 6500 — This Sum will probably fall short of the actual expence, and I would not venture to contract to compleat the building under £ 8000.

Should the General court come to a resolution to erect a new building, I hope I shall be allowed the liberty of withdrawing my plans, for the purpose of adding such improvements as experience may suggest, or of substituting some other in the place.

In my opinion the Province house & land would command £ 3000 and half the State house about 1500. —

I am Sir, Your most obd.t Serv.t

Charles Bulfinch

Corrected estimate for a new Stable house.

Digging cellar	90.—.—
375 perch stone for cellar @12/	225.—.—
Digging cellar wall	112.10.—
500,000 Bricks @30/	750.—.—
Lime & do. another estimate @24/	600.—.—
150 Hhds Lime @20/	150.—.—
450 loads Sand @6/	135.—.—
Framing	150.—.—
60 Squares of Slate @60/	180.—.—
5000 3d pt. under @2/	500.—.—
4000 do Painting @1/	250.—.—
window frames & sashes	100.—.—
2500 ft Glass @2/	250.—.—
18 Columns complete	60.—.—
Carving	300.—.—
Turned work	40.—.—
Timber, boards & Plank	1000.—.—
Carpenters work	1400.—.—
Iron work - Lead &c	100.—.—
	6492.10.—

he said was 'in the style of a building celebrated all over Europe.' A small and unimportant sketch of one room is all that has been found of this plan, and no trace of any later design or plan.

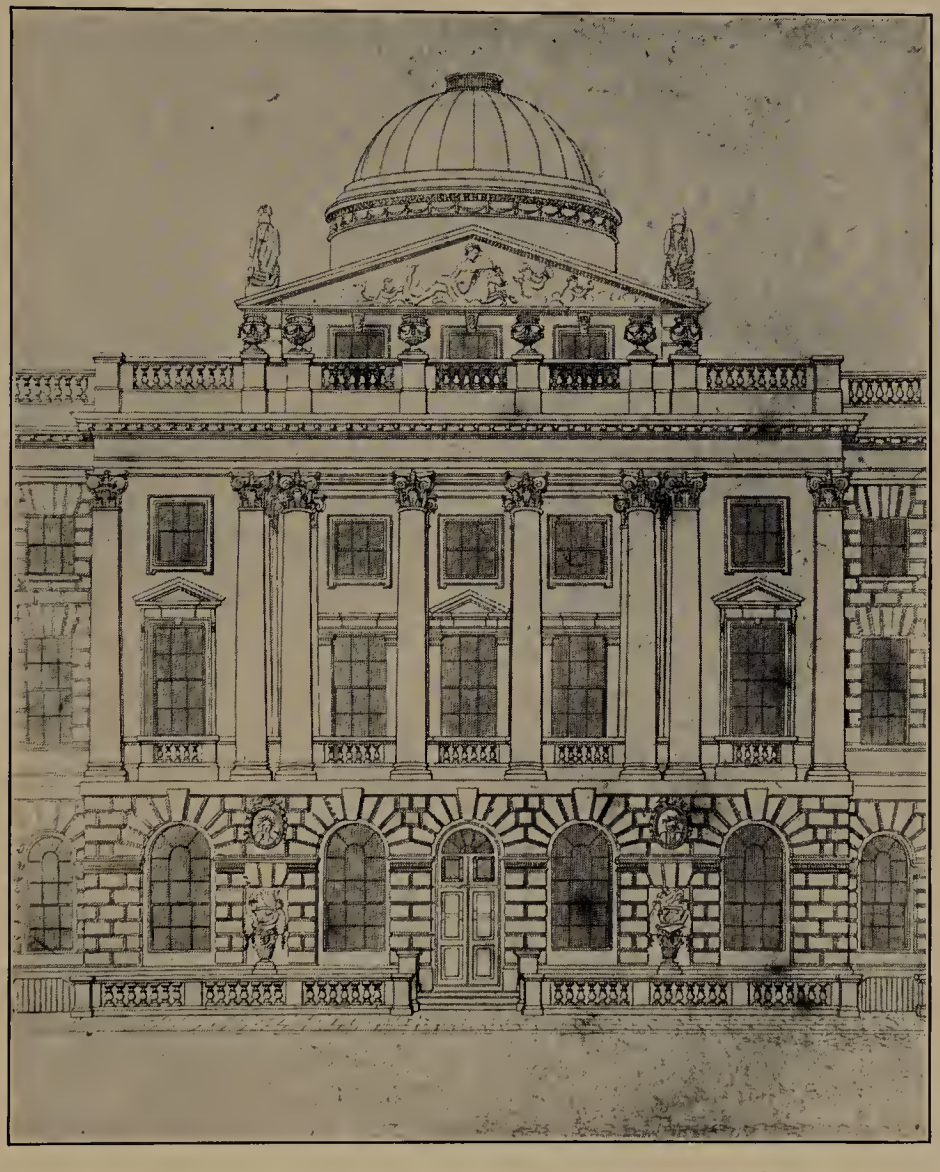
On January 21, 1795, Bulfinch wrote to Perez Morton, Esq., 'My estimate of the cost of a state house was made many years since . . . my own experience since that time has convinced me of the fallacy of estimates in general, and especially in buildings of a public nature.' No change in design is mentioned in this letter, and the estimates for material are practically the same as in 1787, though the cost shows considerable increase. Four hundred thousand brick, estimated to cost £400, were increased to 500,000 for £750; while both estimates call for 5000 yards of plastering, 4000 yards of painting, 2500 square feet of window glass, and 60 squares of slating for the roof. The cost of 18 columns, figured at £30 in 1787, was doubled in 1795, and the carving of the capitals had increased from £200 to £300.

Mr. Charles A. Cummings, at one time President of the Boston Society of Architects, who wrote the Introduction to the 'Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch,' is quoted by Miss Bulfinch as saying that considerations of cost, etc., 'are understood to have compelled certain modifications of design, of which the shortening of the wings was the most important.' This can only be interpreted as meaning not shortening the length of the entire building as proposed, but as lengthening the portico, and hence in the use of twenty-four rather than of eighteen columns as estimated both in 1787 and 1795. Such modification of plan would have resulted in shorter wings as we see them now. Also it is to be noted that while Bulfinch's estimate was for less than £7000 and the first appropriation was for £8000, the final cost was nearly four times that amount. Hence we can hardly suppose considerations of cost induced any lessening of proportions.

Many who have seen the glory of the Bulfinch State House will agree with the sentiment of Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England, expressed in a letter dated October 26, 1883, 'Far the most beautiful city in America, so far as I have seen, is Boston, and the State House is the most beautiful building in the country . . . in perfect taste and proportion.' This English judgment is of peculiar interest because Lord Coleridge must have known and admired the building which undoubtedly inspired Bulfinch. At the time of the agitation for the preservation of the Bulfinch building in 1896, a well-known English architect wrote a strong letter of appreciation, declaring that the structure 'forms an almost unique link in the architectural history of America and shows the development of the architecture of the English-speaking people. . . . Through it we can trace the æsthetic pedigree of Bulfinch to the great line of Gibbs, Wren, and Jones.' This is high praise, indeed, and true.

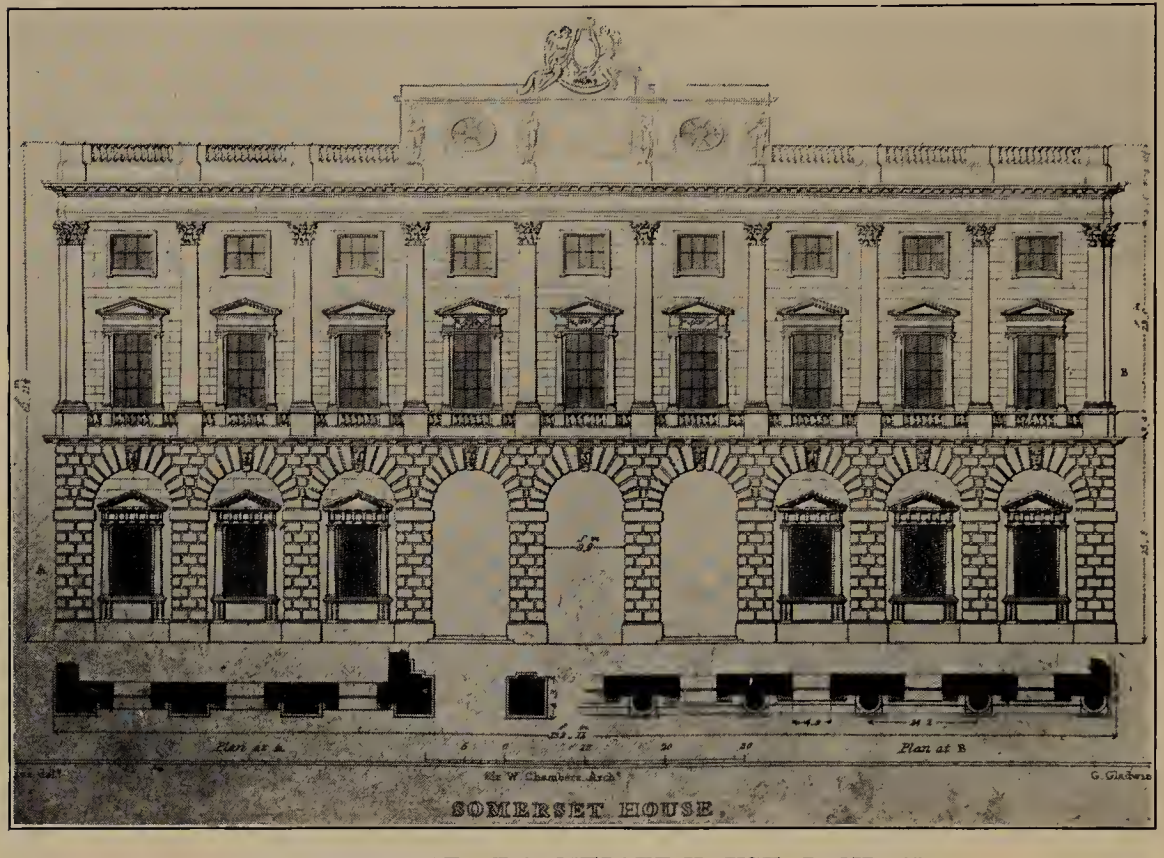
Though Miss Bulfinch says that at the time of the erection of the State House there was not in this country any building worthy to be a model for such an edifice, and it is doubtful if any then existed, etc.; and the Reverend Stephen G. Bulfinch, the son of the architect, wrote, 'the artist had neither example nor warning' — there was such an example and a good one. We must remember that the State House, Hartford, designed by Bulfinch, was nearing completion when the State House at Boston was begun. But back of both was a model which had deeply impressed Bulfinch. Bulfinch's letter of 1787, in which he speaks of the design 'in the style of a building celebrated all over Europe,' was evidently unknown to his son and to his granddaughter; and the Honorable Alfred S. Roe, referring to the statement in the 'New England Magazine' for February, 1899, said, 'We are left in ignorance as to what that structure may have been.' But the building

is not obscure. When Bulfinch first submitted his design in 1787, he was fresh from London where Somerset House, the great Government building begun in 1775, had been seen and admired. A study of the façade of that part of the structure which contained the Navy Office will confirm the belief that this was the model in particular for the Massachusetts State House. So, too, the lines and motives in the Strand front are suggestive of the Connecticut State House. Whatever the estimate of Sir William Chambers, the architect of Somerset



NAVY OFFICE, SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON

House, he was a careful student of classic lines and achieved good proportions. It is to Bulfinch's credit that his good taste selected these models and adapted them to meet the New England demands. There is a touch of his creative genius in the lines of the Boston dome, sometimes criticized for the way it is set, but following, as we see, no unworthy master.



STRAND FRONT OF SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON

It is interesting to compare the dimensions of the three Bulfinch State Houses: Boston, 172 by 65 feet, portico 96 feet; Augusta, 150 by 50 feet, portico 80 feet; Hartford, 120 by 50 feet, portico 40 feet. Another influence which bears particularly on the middle portion of the Boston State House is seen in 'Le Vignole Moderne' (Part 3. Published in Paris, 1784) — a book which Bulfinch bought and inscribed, 'Charles Bulfinch. Paris 1786' — showing a good dome and some

motives seen in the portico at Boston. The final account was rendered March 4, 1800, Bulfinch continuing his service till well into the year 1799, and the total cost we find from the records to be the first grant of £8000 plus successive appropriations aggregating $113,333.34. The change from English to United States money standards was made during the erection of the building. This total included the furnishings and the cost of erecting a small dwelling forty by twenty feet for the messenger and $1800 paid to each of the three agents. On March 11, 1802, a further grant was necessary to secure and copper the dome, and the work was done by Paul Revere and Son at a cost of over $4000 under the direction of the three agents.

It has been said that the Beacon Hill Monument, Franklin Place, and the new State House introduced a new era for Boston; all were due to the genius of Charles Bulfinch. This brings us to the year 1799 and the beginning of a new period of service to the town.

CHAPTER V

'THE GREAT SELECTMAN'

BULFINCH'S long and unique service to the Town of Boston as Chairman of the Board of Selectmen began with his election to the Board March 11, 1799, and continued for almost nineteen years. Any accurate and vivid description of these years of faithful devotion is impossible because, besides the brief and often incomplete reports of the town meetings and of the Selectmen, there is almost nothing else. Josiah Quincy wrote a 'Municipal History' of Boston dealing almost wholly with his own administration as mayor for five years; Charles Bulfinch left only a short summary of his nineteen years covering but a little more than two printed pages of less than one thousand words. Boston's 'Great Selectman,' as he has been called, he was indeed; but great not because of any radical reforms, but only because of patient years of efficient integrity that lay between the brilliant and the uncolored routine. Boston's trade and commerce were increasing rapidly, and up to the embargo of December, 1807, when Boston led in registered tonnage amounting to more than one third of the total in the United States, every phase of civic and social life was expanding. By now the population had increased to nearly twenty-five thousand. All these conditions made insistent demands on all departments of town administration. The spirit of expansion must be tempered with wise discretion. How wise, how far-sighted, how fair-minded, conservative without being narrow, ever with the interests of the common good uppermost, the chief executive was during these nineteen years, we discover amid the prosy records, amid the confessed irksome duties

to one whose natural taste and character was unsuited to obligations which were made glorious by patient daily toil.

There are two kinds of faithful public servants — one, ever in the public eye for a brief season inspired by difficult problems and their moral issues; the other, less prominent, dealing through long periods with commonplace matters that seem unrelated to large results and which therefore dull rather than elate. It may be that the latter are entitled to and receive the greater reward — if not the popular applause. As a public servant, Charles Bulfinch falls within both of these classes, but the second class strongly outweighs the first.

When the Board of Selectmen organized March 13, 1799, 'it was unanimously agreed that Mr. Bulfinch has the precedence by seniority of election [due to his previous service on the Board] and he was introduced to the Chair accordingly.' Meetings were held weekly and very often at shorter intervals, and were concerned with almost everything from giving a badge to a chimney sweep to paying respects to the Chief Executive of the United States. There is a seeming endless succession of votes on drains, paving streets, widening streets, besides all the work incident to new streets which in increasing number must be laid out and paved, sidewalks made, etc. The wide contrast in the streets of that period and now is seen in the careful restriction to loads which no more than two horses could draw except during the frozen ground of winter, in general to loads not exceeding one ton. In February of this year a company was incorporated for bringing fresh water into town by 'subterraneous pipes,' thus necessitating the opening of streets and additional oversight by the Selectmen. The constant widening of streets sometimes worked hardship or again met with opposition. A story has come down of one incident where the owner of a building which projected into the street threatened to shoot the

first man to mount a ladder to begin the work of destruction. Mr. Bulfinch calmly mounted the ladder and the work proceeded, doubtless to the delight of the assembled spectators and the disgust of the bluffer. Determined persistence to build steps or other portions of structures into streets that had been widened, after all efforts at fair conciliation had failed, resulted in prosecution under the law. Licenses for the owners of hacks must be signed, inspectors of chimneys, of salt pork, pickled fish and beef appointed, regulations made regarding markets, stalls, and the sale of nearly every commodity.

There were Overseers of the Poor, and a Board of Health first appointed in 1798; besides these departments the Selectmen exercised oversight in all matters including finance and participation in the duties of the School Committee. A Municipal Court, deemed necessary in 1797, was established by Act of the General Court in 1800 and the salary of the Judge was fixed by the town at five hundred dollars. For all this work there was no financial compensation to the members of the Board or to its Chairman. Hence it was a matter of considerable importance in the fortune of Charles Bulfinch when the Board, on May 10, 1799, created the office of Superintendent of Police at a salary of six hundred dollars, and then unanimously elected Bulfinch to that position.

In upon this commonplace round of important duties comes a breath from the world across the sea, in an entry under date of July 15, 1799, which reads, 'The young men of Boston having by their Committee requested of the Selectmen permission to have the Bells of the Town rung from 6 to half past 7 o'clock on the Morning of the 17th Inst. in commemoration of that act of their Governm't. which absolved America from those tics which France by her unprincipled conduct had proved on her part to be no longer obligatory.' Permission to have the bells rung for one hour was granted.

Perusing the new Town By-Laws, issued in 1801 under the name of Charles Bulfinch, Superintendent of Police, who engages that 'No exertion shall be wanting on his part, to maintain that good order and government, so essential to the well-being, the safety and happiness of the inhabitants of this metropolis,' we wonder what part Bulfinch had in framing these laws and how keen was his zest in executing them. Here are a few samples; to avoid danger and disturbance on the Lord's Day, 'no chariot, chaise or other carriage shall at such times be driven at a greater rate than a walk or moderate foot pace on penalty of $2.' No horse could be led on the Lord's Day to any pond to be washed or watered; and no carriage was allowed to enter or leave the town on the Lord's Day without permit from a Justice of the Peace. In these and many other petty ways is seen the Puritan spirit. Laws against forestalling in food (profiteering we say now) must have had Bulfinch's hearty approval as they do from most of us to-day. 'And all persons having the least regard to justice and to the poor inhabitants of this town, are requested to give information against every such offender to the Selectmen, that he or she may be brought to condign punishment, and for which offense the Selectmen are hereby directed vigorously to prosecute every offender, at the court or courts proper to try the same. Here is the tyranny of the law, the dead hand of bigotry from which with all our love of law and order it is hard to escape. So doubtless Charles Bulfinch found.

The town budget of $60,000 voted in 1799 had increased in 1807 to $90,000; but supplemented by various incomes from rents and sales of land. With no reports available the actual cost of town business cannot be determined. Through all these years there were insistent demands for better accommodations for the poor and the criminal, but, though reports of committees recommending better conditions

were adopted unanimously, little was done. Economy was the rule. Yet it is surprising to see that in the estimates for the year beginning March, 1807, the sum of $14,400 is set down for schools and $18,000 for Overseers of the Poor, though part of this latter included work-house and jail expenses.

After years of agitation the new almshouse was begun in Leverett Street in 1799 and completed probably in 1801. The final account was

ALMSHOUSE, LEVERETT STREET, BOSTON

rendered January 11, 1802, from which it would appear that the cost was nearly $50,000, including $2400 paid to the three agents; Thomas Dawes, Samuel Brown, and George B. Minot. This institution replaced the old almshouse on Beacon and Park Streets and was built on land extending down to the Charles River so that a 'sea wall' was necessary. Bulfinch was the architect, though no record of payment has been found. Fortunately, we have an old illustration which, with a description by Shaw written before 1817, enables us to judge some-

thing of its architectural merits. A three-story building of brick two hundred and seventy by fifty-six feet with white marble fascias, imposts, and keystones, it had four staircases ten feet wide and a central hall forty by fifty feet and above this a chapel of the same dimensions, each fifteen feet high. The arched windows in the middle were finished with fluted pilasters. In the basement were three kitchens and the building seems to have been well planned for the comfort of the inmates. The enclosing walls of brick with handsome gates do not appear in the picture which is from a lithograph by A. Bowen.

At the very meeting that accepted the report the voters inquired if some part of the almshouse could be fitted up for use as a workhouse. The committee, of which Bulfinch was Chairman, reported, at a meeting of the town January 21st, that no part of the house could be set apart as a Bridewell or house of correction without serious consequence to the charity inmates and at very considerable expense, that a separate building was necessary and would cost between twenty and thirty thousand dollars; nevertheless, in view of the present burden on the town the committee recommended temporary measures and it was so voted. Thus this important matter was left for more than a decade.

With the opening of the new century, the demand for more land for business and residence became increasingly insistent. West Boston along both sides of Cambridge Street had gradually grown since 1785; and after 1800 the west slope of Beacon Hill, a large bulk of which was included in the Copley sale in 1795 to Otis, Mason, Joy, and Swan, slowly filled with residences of the finer sort. Waste lands began to be reclaimed and filled; and as a considerable amount of these lands was the property of the town, the town began to consider means of selling or leasing. A large measure of the work incident to opening up these lands fell to Bulfinch, including doubtless the various reports of

the committees signed by him as Chairman. These reports, short and to the point, reveal patient toil and practical judgment.

The first definite action by the town on the Neck lands, following the recommendation of the committee, was to appoint the Selectmen and six other men trustees to lay out the land in streets and lots and to sell the same. We note that Thomas Dawes, whose practical judgment was sought in so many ways, was one of the six men appointed to serve with the Selectmen. Approximately thirteen thousand dollars was realized from sales during the next ten years; and in 1811 there were between forty and fifty acres of Neck lands 'judiciously laid out,' for which 'at present there is no demand.'

Following this, and almost as a consequence, was the project of a bridge to Dorchester Neck, due to the enterprise of William Tudor, Harrison Gray Otis, and Jonathan Mason, and the subsequent annexation of that part of Dorchester in 1804 and called South Boston. All that territory was carefully surveyed and laid out in streets bearing, not names, but numbers and letters as we find them to-day. South Boston Bridge was incorporated March 6, 1804, opened October 10, 1805, and continued a toll bridge for twenty-seven years. The rights of the town to land and marshes lying near this bridge were involved and eventually increased the receipts of the treasury.

The next project to increase the land area was for filling the mill pond which, warmly debated in a number of town meetings, finally in 1804 was approved and a committee appointed 'to treat with the supposed Proprietors of the Mill Pond,' though the General Court on March 9, 1804, had incorporated 'John Peck, Benjamin Hichborn and Mary Gilman owners and proprietors of water mills, mill pond and land under the same and their associates.' This committee consisted again of the Selectmen and six others, and among the latter we find

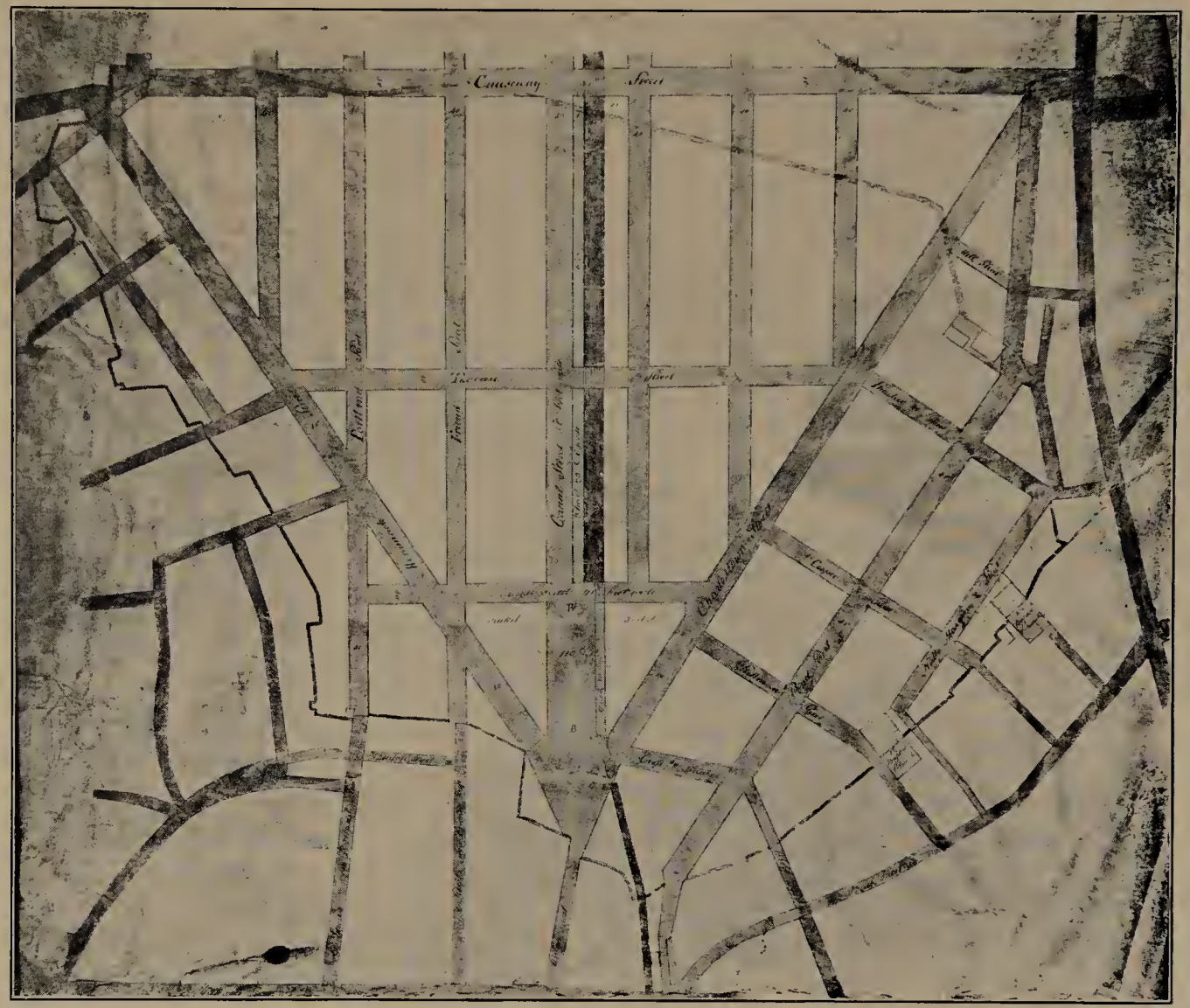
MAP OF 'NECK,' BOSTON

once more 'Honab'l. Thomas Dawes, Esq.' The matter dragged on through town meetings, with proposals and counter-proposals, to a binding contract in 1807 in which it was agreed that the town should have a certain part of the filled area; and the Selectmen were authorized to carry the agreement into full effect. The filling was to be done at the expense of the proprietors within twenty years, and the estimate of land to which the town would be entitled, exclusive of canal, streets, and markets, approximated nearly two hundred thousand feet.

Rather unusual interest attaches to the two indentures and the two plans on parchment now preserved in the City Hall archives. The first indenture, dated July 24, 1807, signed by the agent of the mill corporation and the commissioners for the town, is based on a plan by Charles Bulfinch with the same date as the indenture and bearing the signature of the agent and the Chairman of the Commission. The second indenture, dated July 7, 1808, bears the names of the agent and the Selectmen, and was executed after other plans had been considered, one of which was a 'new plan' presented to the Board of Selectmen April 27, 1808, by the Chairman. Though the second parchment plan bears no writing, it seems reasonable that this is the 'new plan' made by Bulfinch, though this cannot be stated positively. These two plans show the filled area and the streets proposed bearing names some of which are in use to-day, and give us some idea of the magnitude of the project especially for that time. Work was begun at once and proceeded for a number of years, receiving in due time the top of Beacon Hill and involving many matters for consideration, bridges, sewers, claims, etc., the bulk of which devolved upon the Chairman of the selectmen, who was made chairman of a special committee of three to act on this matter. Osgood Carleton had made a survey by September 7, 1807, and the names of some proposed streets were ordered inserted in the plan.

At the commencement of the work in 1807, an amusing scene was enacted marking the beginning of the claim of the Governor Hancock heirs to the enclosed part of Beacon Hill which they proposed to use to fill the mill pond. The heirs had signified their intention of entering upon the land, and the Chairman and two other members of the board of Selectmen were appointed a committee to prevent encroachment. At a meeting of the Selectmen September 16, 1807, '. . . The Chairman Reported that on the 15 Inst. agreeable to the direction of the Board, the Comm^{ee} had repaired to Beacon hill, and there met with Eben^{r} Hancock Esq. and John Hancock and M^{r} Samuel Spear who appeared to claim and enter upon the enclosed part of the Hill in behalf of the Heirs of the late Governor Hancock — Mess: Hancock and Spear each of them took a Shovel full of Earth and threw it into the Cart of M^{r} James Bird — The Chairman then forbid them to proceed and ordered them to withdraw in the name of the Town and the Comm^{ee} taking each of them by the Arm led them from the enclosed part of the Hill into the Street, and ordered them not to enter again for any such purpose — M^{r} Rufus Tower, M^{r} Levi Joy and M^{r} Thomas C. Dillaway, were present and were desired to take such notice as would enable them to be Witnesses of the transaction if called upon in future.' A court judgment was rendered in November, 1809, and in 1810 Beacon Hill began to descend into the mill pond. In the following year the town sold land on the hill and the work of filling proceeded without interruption.

About the time of the beginning of the agitation for filling the mill pond, Uriah Cotting suggested a project which involved India Wharf and Broad Street. Cotting, whose prominence in real estate matters in Boston increased from this time, was associated with Harrison Gray Otis, Rufus G. Amory, Francis C. Lowell, and others. India Wharf lay



PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILL POND, BOSTON

at the foot of India Street, a street laid out as early as 1804, but it is quite likely that this or some wharf was there before 1806 or 1805. The Broad Street Association was incorporated February 11, 1805, and at the meeting of the Board March 20th a plan was considered which may be the one drawn by Bulfinch, now preserved in the City Hall and inscribed, 'Charles Bulfinch, 1805.' On June 24th a bond for $20,000 was stipulated, the lines of the proposed street accepted, and 'the chairman was desired to employ workmen to stake out the street,' thus establishing the actual beginning of the work. The plan called for a seventy-foot street running from State Street to Battery March Street, necessitating the purchase of land, the removal of numerous old buildings, and was a project of considerable importance. Later, in 1808, Battery March Street, below its junction with Broad, was widened and named Broad Street, thus continuing Broad Street to India Wharf.

It has been thought that the India Wharf stores were built later because India Wharf was incorporated March 3, 1808, but we not only are certain that India Wharf was in existence by 1806, but we find the first deed of conveyance of three of these stores dated January 1, 1807. These stores are described as having an arch in the middle, which is confirmed by an old picture showing the stores before Atlantic Avenue was cut through, destroying the arch but leaving a few stores on the west, and practically all of those beyond the arch toward the harbor. There is a tradition of documentary evidence that Bulfinch designed these stores, doubtless true because of his association with the men connected with the enterprise, but the evidence has not been found and no plan other than that of Broad Street, 1805. The general exterior of the remaining buildings is little changed, still carrying something of the romance and venture of past days. The architectural

EAST END OF INDIA WHARF STORES IN 1922

features are in the arch which was swept away when Atlantic Avenue was built, the good proportions of the side elevation and in the interesting east end. A careful study of this end and the stores which remain, with few exterior changes, leads to the conviction that the tradition of Bulfinch design is true.

In all these important enterprises which so expanded the land area and made possible the future growth of Boston, Bulfinch was closely associated both officially and professionally; but throughout the whole

period of his service to the town it is impossible to form any correct and satisfying judgment of the value of that service. Yet over and again we come upon incidents which testify to the soundness of his mind, to his practical wisdom, and to his moral integrity, devotion to the common good being the dominant motive.

During the years following the disaster of Franklin Place, Bulfinch must have found relaxation from his activities for the town and in architecture almost wholly in his home and amid the very small circle of relatives and friends. While the family continued to reside in Boston, King's Chapel had the loyal support of husband and wife, but there were no clubs, and few societies claimed his interest. On October 1, 1801, the Massachusetts Historical Society honored itself and Bulfinch by electing him a resident member, recording 'that in consideration of the generous donation of the library room to the Society by Mr. Bulfinch he be exempt from paying $8 admission fee and also from the annual payment of $2.' He continued a member till his removal to Washington, attending the meetings occasionally and serving on a few committees, but there is no record of any historical contribution to the work of the society. Later he was continued as a resident member till his death. His service to the town was increasingly arduous and together with professional work left him scant time or energy for social activities; but a dull or uninteresting life for him it was not. Love of home, professional taste, and duty well performed made up his life.

Boston had steadily advanced in population and commercial importance through the administrations of Washington and Adams and the greater part of the essentially democratic administration of Jefferson. Jefferson was known to be in sympathy with the desire of the French people for larger social and political freedom and naturally he voiced the sentiment of a large majority of the American people. In

spite of the terrors and excesses of the French Revolution, this sentiment had continued, though much damped for a time, and with a growing fear of the power of aristocracy and wealth, Jefferson was elected President in 1800. During his first administration all went well, but gradually England, which had imposed an easy yoke at first, increased her exactions, which by 1806 began to be resented. One of the first incidents to stir deeply the feelings of Boston was the impressment attack of the British frigate Leopard upon the United States frigate Chesapeake. The citizens of Norfolk at once protested the outrage and sent a letter to the Chairman of the Selectmen of Boston, whereupon a town meeting was called July 16, 1807, and resolutions passed commending the 'patriotic and spirited conduct' of the citizens of Norfolk, etc. This outrage made clear to the people of Boston and Massachusetts that England was hostile to the United States both in commercial and political affairs and a declaration of war by Jefferson at this time would have met with quick response by Massachusetts. But Jefferson's mind worked in a different groove, resulting on December 22d in the proclamation of an embargo which prohibited American vessels clearing from American harbors, and coasting and fishing vessels from landing cargoes outside the United States. This order, which operated not only against England and France, but all foreign ports, fell upon Boston and Massachusetts like a blight.

The Massachusetts Federalists in a rage protested that this measure would ruin American commerce, a prophecy which a year later seemed sure of fulfillment; but the Federalists were well-nigh impotent. Their control of Massachusetts politics, lost in 1807, was regained in 1809 in the election of Governor Gore only in consequence of the agitation over the embargo, lost again in 1810, to be recovered in 1812 and held

for a long period. Massachusetts commerce was not ruined, but greatly restricted, with the consequence of trade depression and much suffering.

The embargo was a prelude to the War of 1812, as the protests, increasing in number and vehemence, were forerunners of the Hartford Convention. At a meeting of the town August 9, 1808, a resolution of Jonathan Mason 'to petition the President of the United States to suspend the embargo either wholly or partially,' 'after a spirited debate of some length,' was passed by 'a very great majority,' and it was voted that the Selectmen transmit the petition to the President, and also to communicate the proceedings of the town to the Selectmen of other towns. This action was mild when compared with the next resolution of the town, at a meeting in the following January called at the urgent and determined request of a number of inhabitants, foremost of whom was Thomas H. Perkins, one of the largest merchants to feel the heavy weight of the embargo. Faneuil Hall was packed at the adjourned meeting January 24th to hear the report of the committee appointed the preceding day and composed of Thomas H. Perkins, J. C. Jones, Samuel Dexter, Dr. Joseph Warren, William Sullivan, Jonathan Mason, and Theodore Lyman. This committee was charged with preparing a petition to the General Court to procure relief from the grievances suffered in consequence of the abolition of foreign commerce, and the draft of its resolutions 'being read and largely debated was accepted by a large majority of citizens.' The language of these resolutions in no uncertain terms declares a determination to find means of relief from oppressive intolerance and final ruin, and solemnly pledges 'everything dear to freemen, to support whatever measures the Legislature of this Commonwealth may think proper to preserve the rights and liberties of our Country.' It was voted that the Selcct-

men present the petition to the Legislature which was carried into effect by the Chairman.

Mr. Bulfinch's connection with all these events was intimate, and though he has left no record of his personal attitude we are warranted in assuming it was wise and well-balanced. Secession was in the very air and in the blood. Josiah Quincy had found sufficient cause for such action in the Louisiana Purchase; and now the determined stand by New England and New York forced Congress to repeal the Embargo Act, except against England and France, the repeal taking effect in March, 1809. The immediate result of the repeal of this act, conceived in folly and of immense practical advantage to England, was revival of business on every side.

The record of Bulfinch's services to the town, beyond the larger enterprises and events we have considered, lies in an increasing amount of minor yet always important affairs. New streets, widening, paving, sewers, claims, adjustments, the steady stream of petty details, infringements of laws, so many matters left to the Chairman for attention and final execution — no words can make vivid this exceptional service of a man who was receiving a salary of $600 as Superintendent of Police. The town work had become so great that Mr. Bulfinch laid the following letter before the Board, November 26, 1810:

'Gentlemen, In the estimate of expences for the present year, a sum was named for the police department, which was read in Town Meeting, and was adopted with other appropriations. — I have not yet brought the subject before the board, from an unwillingness to make claims upon the public; but I must now request you to consider that the Town service occupies nearly my whole time, at home, in Office hours and in the Street, and renders it impossible for me to engage in any regular business, except that of the Town.

'I have long wished to be able to serve the Town upon the same independent footing with the other members of the Board: but the stagnation of business and the disappointment of expectations in the two past years have prevented my obtaining my wish in this respect.

'Under the circumstances I request the Board to consider the propriety of making my compensation in proportion to that of other Town Officers who receive pay for their services.'

This communication was read when Mr. Bulfinch had withdrawn, and after due consideration $400 was voted in addition to the regular salary of $600. During the ten years when his salary was only $600, his professional services were in general demand, but though no estimate can be made of compensation because of the lack of records, it does not seem likely that the amount was large. In more than one instance his services were given, and never was the motive of self-interest large. There was some improvement in his financial affairs after 1800, but at the highest his income was small.

It is worthy of note that Boston had a population of 34,000 in 1810 and a debt of less than $43,000. In that year $82,000 was appropriated, which included $15,300 for schools and $20,000 for the Overseers of the Poor, the latter item covering expenses for the workhouse. There was an income approximating $14,000 from rentals of the Old State House, Faneuil Hall, and markets, and additional sums from the sale of town lands, of which a large amount was still available at the mill pond and on the Neck.

The record of routine work is interspersed with little incidents which betoken the spirit of the times not yet free from Puritanism, and others which prophesy the larger humanism. There is still complaint of carriages disturbing church services. Skating on the Frog Pond on the Lord's Day is forbidden 'as a breach of the Sabbath,' amusements

are strictly censored in consideration of the morals of youth, and the judgment of the Board recorded that exhibitions of what an applicant termed 'the art of Pugilism . . . should not be authorized by the Government of the Town.' In 1807 the Selectmen voted to appropriate three hundred and fifty dollars to procure 'an elegant picture with frame complete of Peter Faneuil, Esq.' to be placed in Faneuil Hall, the same to be painted by Henry Sargent 'in the best manner.'

Numbering and registration of all trucks and sleds were included in 'Rules and Orders' prepared by the Chairman and made effective by the Board for July 8, 1811. This was one of many attempts to relieve the increasing congestion of the principal business streets. For many years prior to this time loads had been restricted in the interests of the streets, but not till 1817 do we come upon a strong protest against cruelty to horses. In that year a committee, reporting at the town meeting on the condition of the congested streets and suggesting new rules for the regulation of trucks, call attention also to the '*Cruelty* which is so often practiced in the streets on horses used in the draft and are certain that they express the feelings of their fellow citizens in reprobating this practice as *inhuman* in those who are guilty of it, and as disgraceful to the town.'

Under the date of July 3, 1811, in the Selectmen's records we read, 'The Chairman being absent, Mr. Oliver was chosen Chairman Pro. tem. by ballot'; and again under date of August 7th we find Bulfinch present, and the routine of business went on as usual. The meaning of this absence of a month is plain, the Chairman of the Board was in jail. The immediate cause of his incarceration was due doubtless to court judgments obtained by obscure litigants who otherwise never would have appeared in the annals of history, and for amounts petty in themselves, but a part of an accumulation of debts which had

engulfed him. These debts were incurred in an enterprise of merit and promise which in Bulfinch's case came to disaster from sheer lack of capital, while for others better advantaged the financial result was large.

The filling of the West Boston flats on the Charles River was another undertaking which sought to meet the demands for more land. Encouraged by what Otis, Mason, and Joy were doing, Bulfinch, who had retained in 1796 some land on these flats because deemed of no value, began filling in 1805, completing the work in 1807. Conveyances of parts of this land were made by him in 1806 and 1807, and doubtless all would have gone well but for the embargo of 1807; and though he struggled on till after the lifting of the embargo in 1809, we find his interests in the hands of two trustees in April, 1810, together with a certified plan of land at West Boston Bridge bordering on Charles and Cambridge Streets. After this there was little hope. The shadow of war crept closer, money was tight, there was little demand for land; hence the insistent demands of creditors could not be met. He could not wait as did the other men engaged in the same enterprise and thus reap an almost sure reward, and evidently he could not borrow enough more to satisfy the very few creditors who demanded payment. The effects of this calamity were in some respects worse than the first and he did not recover till his removal to Washington in December, 1817.

His confinement in jail in July, 1811, was not a culmination in bankruptcy proceedings as we are liable to infer when we read Mrs. Bulfinch's record, but an incident as was the removal from Bulfinch Street in 1815 to a small house in Tremont Street, due to increasing pressure resulting from conditions caused by the war. Then, too, in the spring of 1813, Bulfinch was confined to the house for three months

as the result of a fall on the ice which fractured his leg causing permanent lameness and considerable inconvenience for nearly three years. Competitors in architecture also reduced his income in that line. Fortune smiled on him for a few years after 1800, but increased her frowns from 1807 to 1817, and the month in jail must have been dark indeed.

Here is an amazing fact! The Chairman of Boston's Selectmen, the chief executive of a town of thirty-five thousand people, serving with unstinted devotion on a salary of one thousand dollars, increased from six hundred dollars in November, 1810, as chief of police, a man whose honor and integrity were ever above reproach, allowed to remain in jail for failure to meet a few notes — not an hour only, but a month! Facts unknown to us might soften our condemnation, but this absence was a stain upon the town. Charles Bulfinch was a poor business man, as he confesses, and the tangle in his affairs which he made worse by procrastination was not easily straightened. It is inconceivable that the bulk of his creditors, whose names we know to the number of nineteen, nearly all his friends to whom he owed a total of nine thousand dollars, in no individual case exceeding five hundred dollars, should have borne him ill-will or have been indifferent to his plight. Why he was suffered to remain in jail so long or what process released him, we shall probably never know. He returned to his duties humiliated that he had failed, shamed at the town's disgrace, but with integrity of principle unimpaired.

From the records of the General Court we learn that Bulfinch retained, in 1796, one at least of three townships in the 'Eastern Lands' (Maine) which he had acquired in 1795. In 1805 he petitions to be released from obligations in number two.

On August 26th, the Board for the second time voted an additional

four hundred dollars to the six hundred dollar salary of the Superintendent of Police; but there was no important event after Bulfinch returned to duty to break the steady routine of town business till the outbreak of war with England. We pause here to consider the designs in architecture which Bulfinch executed during the period of his civil career we have just reviewed.

CHAPTER VI

A VARIETY OF DESIGNS

DURING the more than fourteen years of Bulfinch's service as chief executive of Boston prior to the war, the town grew apace. The expansion in land area in which he was so active was a part of a general growth involving building operations both public and private, where his influence was even more marked. Some of this was in connection with town business, but the bulk lay wholly outside. There are but slight records or hints of financial compensation, but a richer reward consists in his contribution to civic advance enriched by his artistic spirit.

The petition of the West Boston inhabitants (Ward 7) for a school in that section resulted in a new school building erected at the corner of Chardon and Hawkins Streets in 1803. It seems likely that this is one of the '2 large school-houses, brick,' listed by Bulfinch, but no more has been determined.

Bulfinch's name is associated with court-houses in Suffolk, Norfolk, Worcester, Middlesex and Essex Counties. The first record is found under date of May 14, 1795, at Dedham, 'ordered by the Court that . . . the committee apply to Mr. Bulfinch, architect in Boston for a plan of a decent cupola or turret to the Court House agreeable to the rules of architecture, for a building of such site, use and magnitude'; and Nathaniel Ames records in his diary a few days later that Mr. Bulfinch sends word that he will attend to the matter. This court-house built of wood was finished in April, 1796; the only known illustration of it is found in a painting of the village executed at about that time.

The outstanding features of the Worcester Court-House of brick,

begun in 1801, later changed and then removed, are the beautiful cupola on lines somewhat different from any other by Bulfinch, and the façade with the arched recesses for windows with the Bulfinch touch. The statue of Justice is preserved at the Worcester Historical Society, and in the office of the County Commissioner is Bulfinch's drawing of the front elevation signed and dated. Evidence that the building was erected substantially as designed as found in an old print, but there is no illustration of the interior.

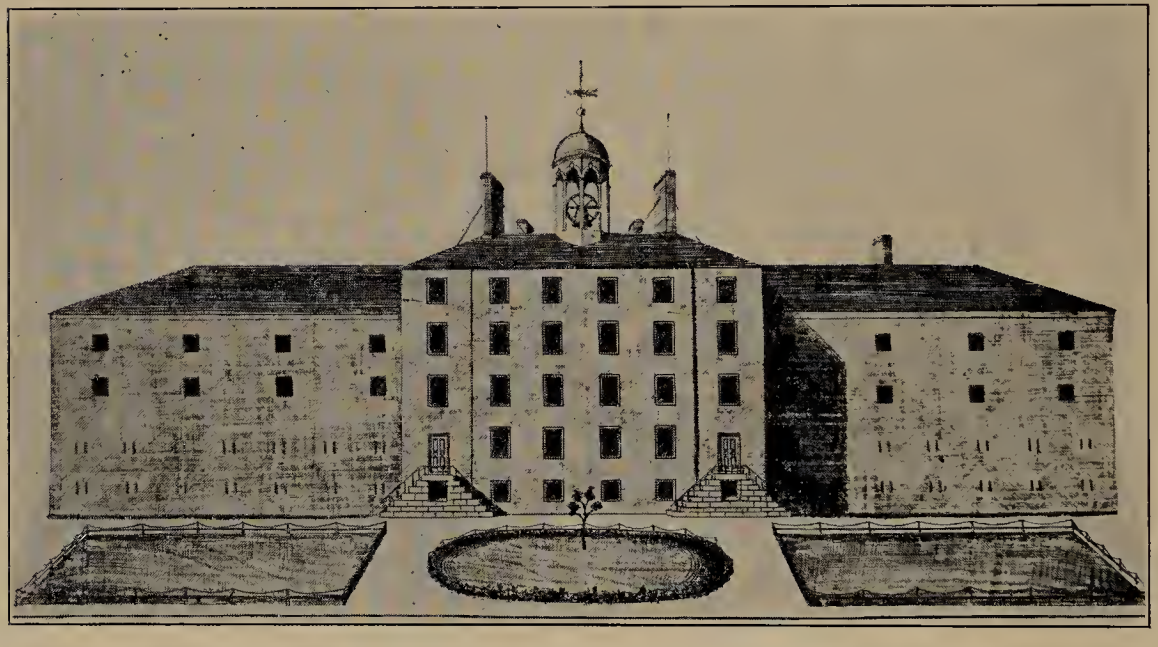
COURT-HOUSE, WORCESTER, 1801
From original drawing

Another Worcester design, that of the first building of the Worcester Bank, may be credited to Bulfinch. Thomas's diary records, 'Mr. Thomas was appointed to apply to Charles Bulfinch for drafts of the interior and exterior.' This structure, three stories high with string-course, was occupied October 6, 1804. An old illustration is our only means of judging of the merits of the building and no other records have been found.

A combined court-house and town house in Newburyport voted October 2, 1804, built of brick in 1805, was designed by Bulfinch. In the reproduction of the old pencil sketch we see an open arched portico in front supporting a second story, above which was a pediment with a

figure of Justice. The illustration of the latter is from a photograph. 'It escaped the great fire of 1811,' says Ashton R. Willard, writing in the 'New England Magazine,' November, 1890, 'but it met with a worse fate in 1853 when it was changed over into the taste of the day. The change was so thorough that no one could now discover any traces of Bulfinch's handiwork about it.' The arches were closed making a solid front wall, the figure of Justice removed, and the whole building 'covered with mastic.' The original structure is interesting in its lines and certain details and in the façade motive.

Bulfinch designed the State's Prison at Charlestown which was under consideration as early as 1801 and was ordered built by the General Court in 1803. Bulfinch was appointed an agent, and that the



ELEVATION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE PRISON

compensation thus received was his only return for the design is seen in a Resolve of the Court of June 22, 1803, 'whereas Charles Bulfinch was formerly appointed agent for building the State's Prison and incurred considerable expense in procuring plans for same . . . he is

hereby appointed agent with the three commissioners.' These three commissioners were Edward H. Robbins, Peleg Coffin, and Jonathan Hunnewell. Bulfinch's share as one of the agents approximated $1500. The building, finished in 1805 at a cost of $160,000, is two hundred feet long with a middle projection of sixty-two feet, and though displaying little beauty has considerable structural interest. The walls of granite are approximately three feet six inches thick, slightly finished on the outside but unhewn on the inside. The old cut shows the same lines seen to-day, except that the cupola and two flights of steps have been removed and changes made in the windows.

STAIRS, MASSACHUSETTS STATE PRISON

The cell walls, ceilings, and floors are of stone. The special structural interest is found in the stairs in the west end built of solid granite blocks with eleven-inch tread and eight-inch rise set into the wall in true cantilever fashion. These have an iron rail, one-inch balusters, and a newel post with pine cone top. The first landing at the turn in these stairs is supported by an arch. The east stairs, now changed, were undoubtedly of the same construction. There is a fearful quaintness in the cells and the whole building, but no hint in the present humane administration, as the writer saw it, of past conditions in America which Dickens severely criticized and pronounced barbarous. He may not have seen this prison or the addition of 1828 made in the same

style and construction; though it is not unlikely that both State and municipal penal conditions were then open to his severe condemnation.

The historical association with Faneuil Hall, Boston, is far more interesting than its architecture; yet its architectural features are by no means insignificant. Smibert's building, one hundred by forty feet, finished and occupied in 1742, comes down to us only in some portions of the south and east walls. The interesting old safe built into the wall

FANEUIL HALL BEFORE ENLARGEMENT

where it may be found to-day is said to have come through the 1761 fire and become a part of the rebuilt structure of 1762. For the rest we have recourse only to imagination. The 1762 building emerges a little clearer. Old cuts help us to realize something of the lines with the pilaster ornamentation and the cupola. What Bulfinch did in 1805 was to double the width of the building and add a third story, changing the cupola from the middle of the roof to the east end of the enlarged building. It is not probable that this cupola is prior to 1762, though the window-openings in the two stories in the south wall and

the pilasters may be. Mr. Abram English Brown, who wrote the interesting and valuable 'History of Faneuil Hall' (1901), said that the south wall was not disturbed in 1805, 'and was in 1898 found to be as firm as when erected in 1742 though there are unmistakable evidences of the fire of 1761 to be seen on the inner side.' Bulfinch con-

FANEUIL HALL
White lines show elevation of old building

tinued the Tuscan and Doric pilasters on the two lower stories and added the Ionic pilasters to the new upper story, thus perpetuating the original character of the 1762, if not of the earlier, building.

The first floor in the earlier and later structure was devoted to a market, and the building contained the principal offiees for town business. On the second floor is the large hall seventy-six feet square and twenty-eight feet high with galleries on three sides. The finish of

the hall, dignified and good, seems in harmony with the many historical associations, but it is impossible to determine whether Bulfinch followed the old finish, or designs of his own, though the entrance staircase is doubtless his and of interest. There is an interesting report by Bulfinch on completion of the building in which he states, 'on the outside it has been the aim of the agents to conform to the original style of the building,' but there is no reference to the interior.

STAIRS DETAIL, FANEUIL HALL

In 1839, Bulfinch sent the plans to the Mayor, Samuel A. Eliot, who returned 'the thanks of the City Government . . . for the plans and the statement accompanying them which you have sent to this office for preservation in the city archives.' But no trace of these plans has been found. The small windows over the third row are interesting, and give light to the quarters of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, the oldest military organization in America, having quarters in the old building before 1805, and in the new since 1806. The enlargement was ordered by the Selectmen in May, 1805, and the hall was used for the March meeting in 1806. The cost

was $56,692.67. The Stuart Washington given by Samuel Parkman is an original, and not a copy, as his letter in offering the gift indicates. In 1898–99 the Hall was made fireproof. All wood and combustible material was removed and replaced by iron, steel, and stone exactly from plans of the original design, though the same old cherry rail is still on the stairs and the old iron hinges and glass knobs are on the doors. The cupola, with its grasshopper weather-vane, modeled from that of the Royal Exchange, London, and many times repaired, is reproduced in fire-proof material, but still in the old location. The material of the building has been changed, but the spirit of Faneuil Hall, hallowed Cradle of Liberty, touched by Charles Bulfinch, remains.

INTERIOR, FANEUIL HALL

No church was built from designs of Bulfinch after those at Taunton and Pittsfield, Massachusetts, till Holy Cross was erected in Franklin Place and consecrated September 29, 1803. In the following year a church called the 'New North' was erected in Hanover Street with a service of dedication on May 2d. Many years afterward this church was purchased by the Catholics and consecrated as Saint Stephen's. Bulfinch's name is thus associated with two Catholic churches, but with Holy Cross and the beginnings of Catholicism in Boston his

connection is very close and characteristic. Puritanism was not yet dead, but it had entered upon its period of old age; and nothing is more significant of the spirit of the time than the broad-minded attitude and action of some of Boston's leading citizens. We should expect Charles Bulfinch to take a leading part in expressing the sentiments of brotherhood without bigotry or cant. His mind was expansive, tolerant. The fine human feelings in him responded to the need and aspirations of the Catholics, and he was quick to devote his artistic talent in answer to their demand for a church edifice.

After the Revolution the Catholic population of Boston steadily increased from about one hundred souls with no church or place of worship, ministered to only on the occasional visits of missionaries, to the first organized society in 1790 under Father Thayer. The Reverend John Thayer was a former Boston Congregational minister converted to the Catholic faith while in Europe, ordained priest, and on his return to America sent to the Mission in Boston in 1790 by Bishop Carrol, of Baltimore. Father Thayer, with the help of the Reverend Francis A. Matignon, sent by Bishop Carrol in 1792, continued the work till the coming of the Reverend John de Cheverus in 1796, when he was transferred to other labors. Both Father Matignon and Father Cheverus were exiled priests, the latter the last priest to be ordained before the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1790, and afterward commonly known and loved as Bishop Cheverus. These priests, who by their piety and zeal had won the hearts of the Catholics, and by their refined manners and genial disposition had gained the esteem of all the citizens, soon found the little brick church in School Street, formerly occupied by the French Huguenots, inadequate, and in March, 1799, a committee to solicit funds for land, with Don Juan Stoughton as chairman, gathered $3000 and a site was purchased at

the foot of Franklin Place just below the Crescent, diagonally opposite number 24, the residence of Don Juan Stoughton, Spanish Consul. The next step was a subscription for a building resulting in a total sum of $16,153, of which the Protestants subscribed $3433, John Adams, President of the United States, heading the list. Ground for the build-

RESIDENCE OF DON JUAN STOUGHTON, SPANISH CONSUL
NORTH SIDE FRANKLIN PLACE

ing was broken March 17, 1800, and the church completed three and a half years later at a cost of about $20,000. The 'Massachusetts Sentinel' for October 1, 1803, thus describes the consecration: 'On Thursday last the Roman Catholic Church in this town was consecrated under the denomination of the Holy Cross by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Carrol. A little before ten o'clock the Bishop in his Pontifical dress with four priests, walked in procession from the residence of the Spanish

Consul to the church, and after the ceremonies usual to such occasions High Mass was celebrated by the Rev. John Cheverus, and a collection of $286 was made for the benefit of the Church. The church was extremely crowded and the Roman Catholics regret it was not in their power to accommodate many of those who wished to attend therein.'

Our knowledge of the building is derived almost wholly from the old photographs and the sketch by Bulfinch marked 'Catholic.' The church, built of brick, was seventy-five feet long by sixty feet wide and thirty feet high. The façade, in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, with the cupola placed astride the roof and on the line of the front elevation, is an interesting study especially when compared with some of the notable churches of Italy on similar lines and which undoubtedly influenced the design of Holy Cross. It may be noted that the entablature runs only across the front, and that if continued it would cut into the arches of the upper windows. According to Bulfinch's memorandum the lower windows were designed to be four feet by seven feet and the upper, four feet by nine feet.

The sketch of the interior shows two orders with an entablature cornice and arched ceiling. The arch is the only hint of the treatment of the altar end, of which there is no illustration or description. That the Catholics deeply appreciated Bulfinch's sympathetic spirit both in furnishing the plan and entering so fully into its execution, is seen in the graceful tribute of their gift of a silver tea-urn,[1] said to have been valued at one hundred and sixty-five dollars and bearing the inscription:

To Charles Bulfinch
Esq.
Presented by the Catholics
of Boston
January 1, 1806

[1] This urn is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

HOLY CROSS CHURCH, BOSTON

Also lower end of Tontine Buildings and spire of Federál Street Church

SAINT STEPHEN'S CHURCH (CATHOLIC), FORMERLY THE NEW NORTH, BOSTON

The New North Church of brick, dedicated May 2, 1804, differs from Holy Cross in having a projecting porch, but likewise with Holy Cross reflects the Italian spirit. There are evidences of freedom as well as of defect of line and mass and was a study of what was to be Bulfinch's church masterpiece. Some years ago, when Hanover Street was widened, the church was moved back and an addition built in the rear; the photograph shows changes in the façade made at that time, principally in running the steps up through the middle door opening, and cutting through the two side doors in the porch. The church has window openings similar to Holy Cross.

From Bulfinch's two sketches and memoranda we can form some idea of the interior which was seventy-two feet square with a middle aisle five feet wide and two side aisles four feet wide. A gallery, supported on Doric columns with dentiled entablature, and the gallery breast three and a half feet high, carrying Corinthian columns from which a curved ceiling springs, remain to-day mueh as when built. The porch hardware including the heavy strap hinges, and the old stair newel posts are interesting. We can form no idea of the pulpit arrangement, the whole end being removed when the addition was built which contains the altar of Saint Stephen's. In the language of the time the church 'reflects honor upon the professional talents of the architect.' This is the only church designed by Bulfinch now standing in Boston.

Bulfinch has been credited with remodelling the meeting-house of the First Church of Charlestown, built in 1783, but it does not seem probable that he had anything to do with the steeple shown in the Bouvé lithograph, 'drawn in 1799,' published in Frothingham's 'History of Charlestown,' 1846, the design for which has been attributed to him. He was connected with the remodelling of the

structure in 1804 when fifteen feet were added to each side, but the spire, with its beautiful Wren motive, the most truly Wren of any known spire in America, was then repaired and painted and undoubtedly belongs to the date of the erection of the meeting-house. In 1834 a new church was built.

The present spire of Christ Church, Boston, built in 1807, is from Bulfinch's design, and, though sixteen feet shorter than the one destroyed in the gale of 1804, follows in general the older beautiful lines.

BELFRY, HALLOWELL, MAINE, 1806

The tradition is strong in Hallowell, Maine, that the cupola placed on the Old South Church in 1806 was designed by Bulfinch, and indeed on circumstantial evidence would seem to be well founded. There is no record of this by Bulfinch or by the church, but Charles Vaughn, Bulfinch's brother-in-law, removed to Hallowell some years before 1805 and became a member of the church, and it is not unlikely that, when a cupola was desired for the old church, which had been built without one in 1798, Bulfinch should have been asked to furnish a design. The best evidence, however, is in the lines of the cupola which are very close to designs made by him. This church was burned in 1878.

Another tradition of a cupola by Bulfinch is found in Castine, Maine; but there is little else to support the claim. It is said to have

CHRIST CHURCH SPIRE, BOSTON

been added to the church in the remodelling of 1831, a date much later than similar designs in Maine and other parts of New England, notably at Augusta on the old church built in 1809, and at Belfast, 1818, where the lines are practically the same. The Castine lines are beautiful, but have little in common with Bulfinch, though the design is a part of a very interesting problem in New England church architecture.

The development of the banking and insurance business is close knit with Boston's commerce and industry; but the story of Charles Bulfinch's part in these two highly important enterprises can be told only imperfectly. We can take his list of the buildings designed by him for certain banks and insurance companies, we can find the date of incorporation of the several institutions and where they were located in State Street from time to time, and we can look at one or two old, inadequate pictures in the light of the assessors' records; beyond that there is nothing. Bulfinch records that he designed five bank buildings in Boston, three of brick — the United States, the Union, and the Boston — and two of stone — the Massachusetts, and the Mechanics; but he gives no date or description, and no plans have been found. The first bank to continue with success was the Massachusetts, incorporated July 5, 1784, which at first occupied the Manufacturers' House, but by 1798 was located in a three-story brick building on the north side of State Street, Drake says, the site of the British Coffee House. No trace of the Bulfinch building of stone erected for this bank has been found.

The United States Branch Bank was established in 1791 and continued as a United States bank till 1812, and after an interval of a few years reëstablished. One illustration is all the record we have of Bulfinch's design which had a fifty-foot frontage on the south side of

UNITED STATES BANK BUILDING, BOSTON

From a plate (drawn by D. Raynerd) in *The American Builder's Companion*, by Asher Benjamin and Daniel Raynerd, Boston, 1806

State Street. The 1824 building of Chelmsford granite is said to have been designed by Solomon Willard.

The next bank, sometimes erroneously called the oldest Boston bank, was the Union, incorporated in 1792 and located in the brick residence of Perez Morton on the north side of State Street, which the bank purchased in 1799 and remodelled. This remodelled building, doubtless by Bulfinch, is shown in the old picture of State Street with 'Union Bank' on one half of the lower story and probably continued to be occupied till the erection in 1826 of the granite structure now standing and lately vacated by the bank.

On March 4, 1803, the Boston bank was chartered with a capitalization of $1,800,000 and was located on the north side of State Street in the brick building probably designed by Bulfinch, but we have no

illustration or description, and none of the stone structure on the south side of State Street designed for the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Bank incorporated February 18, 1814. This latter structure seems to have been one of the first of the many granite buildings erected from this time onward in State Street, but what its lines were we cannot determine.

Into the interesting history of Boston insurance business we may not go; but must be content with observing that the peak of the maritime side of it was not reached till well into the nineteenth century, by which time the volume of fire policies was large. The oldest of the three insurance companies for which Bulfinch designed buildings was the Boston Marine, incorporated February 13, 1799, and occupying for over ten years quarters in the Union Bank building, and some time after 1810 the stone structure on the north side of State Street, planned by Bulfinch. Of the other two buildings, one of brick for the Suffolk Insurance Company, ineorporated February 12, 1803, and another of stone for the New England Marine Insurance Company chartered March 5, 1803, no illustration, description, or date of erection has been found. The latter building was located on the north side of State Street, and not unlikely was erected after or toward the close of the war, probably about the time of the ereetion of the stone building for the Manufacturers' and Merchants' Bank and possibly also that for the Massachusetts Bank. This meagre and unsatisfactory account of these buildings, long since removed, is all we can give; some of the designs may have had influence on later State Street structures, though some of these reflect little honor upon any designer. Some of the above-mentioned buildings belong to a period yet to be considered, but with such slight data it seemed wiser to make one connected story.

Bulfinch's design for the Essex Bank, Salem, Massachusetts, 1811,

marks the passing of McIntire who died in that year. The building of brick in Flemish bond, now the home of the Salem Fraternity, is well-proportioned and formerly carried a well-executed portico which the Fraternity hopes to restore. Because of many changes to the interior, our interest is of necessity confined to the exterior of this good example, and now the only remaining illustration, of Bulfinch bank structures.

Though business and general town improvements and building went forward after the embargo was lifted in 1809, it was with increased concern and caution. For a little while there was fresh zest, but the air did not clear and courage revive till the declaration of peace in 1815. The structures erected during these years are, therefore, the more notable, especially those after 1812. The stone Court-House, Boston (1810), was erected under prosperous conditions, but University Hall and the New South Church, both likewise of Chelmsford granite, were projected and completed amid the darkness of war.

There is both historical and architectural interest in Boylston Market incorporated February 27, 1809, and erected during the year at the corner of Washington and Boylston Streets at a cost of $39,000. The land cost $20,560. The Bulfinch lines and motives may be seen in the illustration which shows the cupola now preserved on the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church, Arlington, Massachusetts, together with the old clock and bell. When the old market was demolished in 1888, cupola, clock, and bell were purchased by Mr. A. G. Van Nostrand and removed to his brewery in Charlestown, and recently, when the church was built, presented by him to the church.

The old market, advertised to be opened to the public November 14, 1809, was built of brick, fifty by one hundred and twenty-five feet, three stories in height containing, according to Shaw's description, twelve stalls for markets on the first floor, four spacious rooms on the second,

BOYLSTON HALL AND MARKET, BOSTON, 1809

and a hall fifty by one hundred feet and twenty-four feet high on the floor above. This hall which had an organ was for many years after 1817 the home of the Handel and Haydn Society. The interest in the building for us to-day lies in the treatment of the cupola, and the façade with the pilasters rising from the lower story.

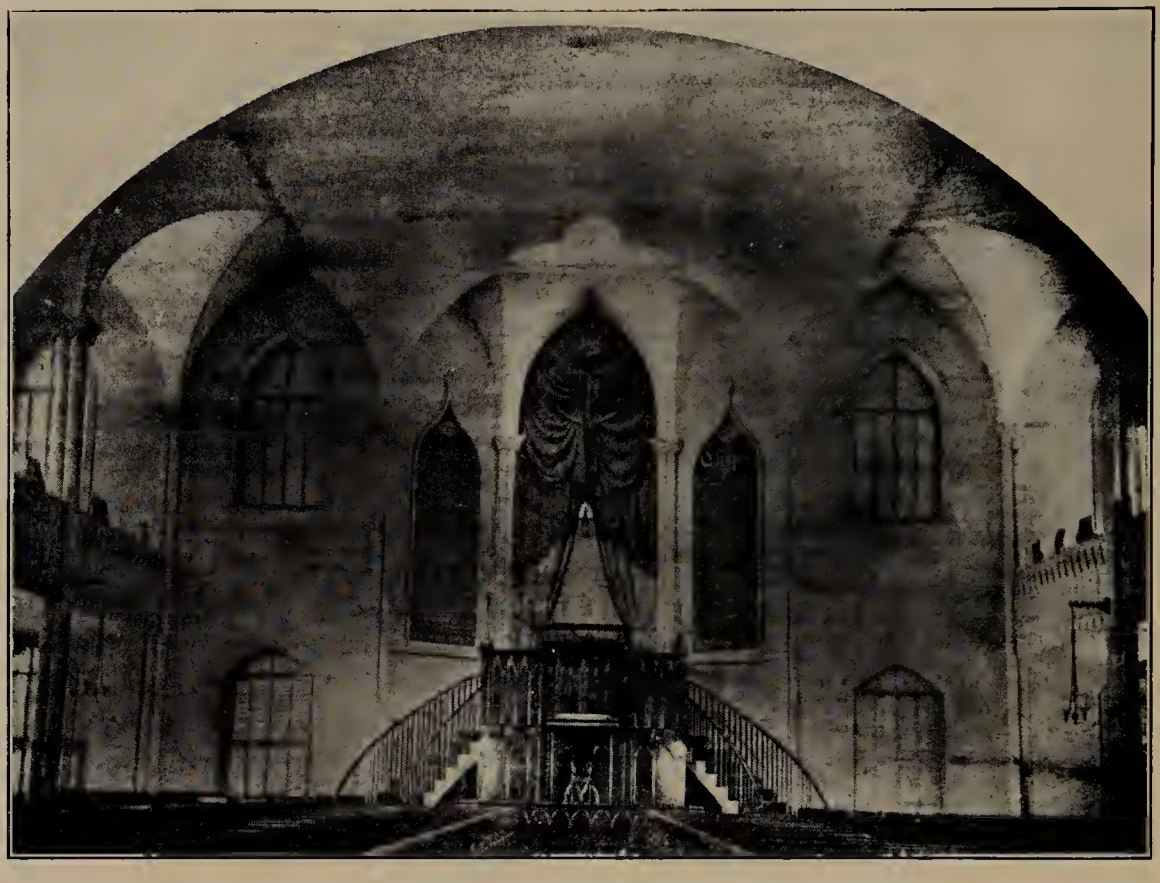
The Selectmen's records determine the beginning of the erection of Park Street Church and throw some light on the angle of the porch. Though the Board on April 12, 1809, had denied the request of the proprietors to advance one angle of the porch into Common Street, on May 3d it was reported that the foundations were being laid into the street, whereupon the Board proceeded to view the same and forbid such encroachments.

SPIRE, FEDERAL STREET CHURCH, BOSTON

A tradition connects Bulfinch with a market, still standing, built by Samuel Parkman at the corner of Cambridge and Grove Streets in 1810. The only architectural feature discoverable to-day is the simple cupola set in the middle of the roof, which is interesting for its association if not for design.

In the year 1809, the Federal Street Church was completed and

dedicated, Bulfinch's first and only attempt at Gothic, 'Generally approved,' Madam Bulfinch wrote at the time, but chiefly interesting in the lines of the spire which with the window treatment are the only



INTERIOR OF FEDERAL STREET CHURCH, BOSTON

Gothic marks of the exterior of the structure. The building, built of brick, sixty-eight feet wide by something more in length, with a pitch roof, in its general proportions was close to the New England church of the period. The tower was incorporated in a projecting porch very similar to that at Taunton and Pittsfield. The porch lines are shown in an old woodcut made prior to 1850.

At best we can speak of the interior as being Gothic only in a few details. These are seen in the reproduction of the old photograph and in the little sketch made by Bulfinch, most pronounced in the pointed windows and the columns. The side aisles of thirteen feet, broken by

COURT-HOUSE, BOSTON, 1810: AFTERWARDS THE CITY HALL

galleries, are not well-proportioned to the body of the church, while the pendentives which perform no work crudely hint the great motive that suggested them. The pulpit, with line and proportion of those in the New England meeting-house a half-century earlier, is Gothic only in its pointed ornament. The building is interesting as a New England church with a few Gothic motives added for ornamentation. Of course, a Gothic church was impossible under the imposed limitation, and yet the use here by Bulfinch of such ornamentation as we see was as much in harmony as many instances of Renaissance motives used for decoration. Out of the ordinary the former may be, but none the less interesting. The lines of the spire are much truer to type than many spires which combine both Gothic and Renaissance motives.

The Court-House of hammered granite, which stood on the site of the present Boston City Hall in School Street from 1810 to 1862, has more than passing interest. The design differs from any other by Bulfinch and has been called Italian. With an octagon middle of fifty-five feet and a total length of one hundred and forty feet, its proportions are those Bulfinch invariably used. Here lies its charm. We are fortunate in having the old photograph which illustrates the beauty and dignity of the building and in which we see again the use of the arched window recess. The lines of the front elevation of the octagon were reproduced closely two years later in the third Latin School building.

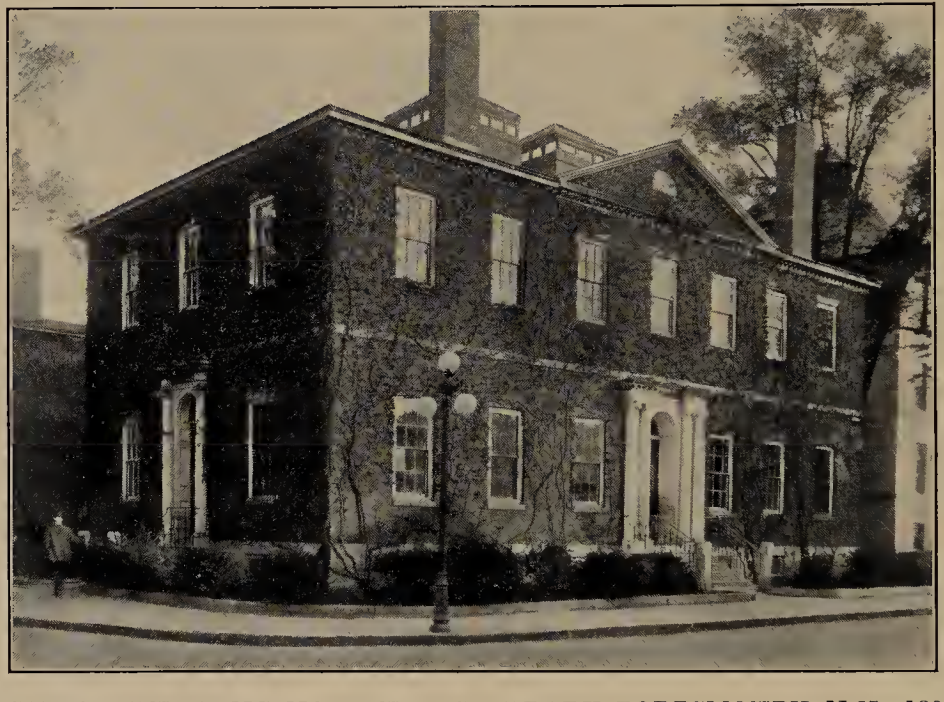
There are no architectural details of the interior which contained two courtrooms in the centre and a smaller courtroom in one wing, besides rooms for judges, clerks, registry of deeds, etc. Some years after its erection, which cost $92,817.16, it was converted into the City Hall, giving way to the present structure, in 1862.

It seems well to mention here the Court-House in East Cambridge, Massachusetts (1814), because it completes the list of court-houses

designed by Bulfinch. Forty-six by sixty-eight feet with two-foot brick walls, it was enlarged in 1848 and shows to-day many changes. The only suggestion of the original lines is found in the western entrance of the middle section of the present structure. No plans or records of changes have been found, and on the whole there is little to awaken interest.

In the following year a jail was built from Bulfinch's design, adjoining the Court-House in East Cambridge, which was forty-five by ninety-five feet. No description has been found, but a sketch of the elevation is probably fairly correct, though not interesting.

There is strong tradition that Bulfinch designed the old Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Academy building built in 1809, and now the



ACADEMY BUILDING, NOW PUBLIC LIBRARY, PORTSMOUTH, N.H., 1809

Public Library; also one or more residences. The Academy building, with its good proportions, string-course, and pediment, is quite in Bulfinch's style, with interesting doorways and a beautiful cornice, but no evidence has been found on the residences.

CHAPTER VII

RESIDENCES BEFORE THE WAR

THE question of Bulfinch single residences is almost as obscure as it is interesting, particularly because not one of them was recorded by him. The circumstantial evidence is strong for some, and upon this and the motives found in Franklin Place, Park Place, and Colonnade Row, known Bulfinch examples based upon documentary evidence, judgment can be formed in cases where the executed design constitutes the only basis.

Besides the better-known and authenticated examples is the swell-front type with an oval room, the first of which is the Joseph Barrell mansion in Charlestown (now Somerville), and possibly first in point of time of all the Bulfineh residences. Barrell, in a letter of December, 1792, speaks of moving to 'Pleasant Hill' in the following spring, from which we may infer that the house was begun not later than the early part of that year and quite likely in the preceding year.

That Bulfinch was the designer seems practically sure, first, because he was almost the only one to whom Barrell could have turned, as well as the one from whom most naturally he would have sought advice in such need; second, because this style of design interested Bulfinch as we know from books in his possession, an interest not unlikely quickened by seeing examples of it in England. A careful study of all the material bearing on the question justifies the conclusion that Bulfinch introduced the style in New England and here in the Barrell Mansion.

Barrell was one of Boston's wealthy merchants, in whose counting-room Bulfinch was employed for a time after leaving college, and who,

as we have seen, was the prime mover in the Columbia venture; and it was his ambition to create a large and beautiful country estate to which it was his evident intention to remove permanently from his Summer Street home. This Summer Street estate, embracing considerable land, Barrell sold in May, 1793, to Charles Vaughn, the brother-in-law of Bulfinch, and part of the land was used in the creation of Franklin Place.

BARRELL MANSION, FROM AN OLD SKETCH

On the brow of the hill, in an extensive tract of land he had acquired, later the site of McLean Hospital, Barrell set his mansion. The reproduction of the old sketch illustrates the house seen from the east as it faced the garden and the Charles River. On the west a porch with four Ionic columns formed the main entrance reached by the drive bordered with elms. The building, of which no plan has been found,

was forty-two by seventy-four feet and built of brick. Here we have the first illustration of a Bulfinch residence, and of the swell-front type entirely different from the majority of his known residences. The grounds Barrell planted to trees, importing choice plants from Europe and gardeners to care for them; made fountains for goldfish and placed trout in the waters. His stable contained fine horses; at the river a barge with liveried boatmen waited to convey him or his guests to Boston, thus saving the long drive *via* Charlestown Bridge.

HALL, BARRELL MANSION

Fortunately, we are not confined to descriptions of the interior. Something of the beauty of the hall and staircase and the oval drawing-room comes to us in the old photographs. The hall contained a staircase interesting for its beauty and construction. It has been called a 'flying' staircase and was supported by four fluted columns under the first landing forming an arch opposite the entrance. From this landing three steps led to another landing and from thence diverging right and left up to a hall connecting with each wing. The drawing-room located in the swell-front toward the garden and the river, and extending back to the hall, had a coved ceiling with a beautiful cornice.

DRAWING-ROOM, BARRELL MANSION

The finish material of the drawing-room and hall was removed when the building was demolished some years ago on the removal of the hospital to Waverley, and is now incorporated in a house in Wayland. At that time the masonry and timbers were found sound. The floors were deadened by a layer of brick, and back of the base-boards and in all unused spaces brick were laid in mortar for fire, and possibly rat, stops. All the inner walls not built of brick were built of two-inch pine plank set upright and lathed and plastered. An interesting description by the Reverend Edward G. Porter, of the house and grounds, was given at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society at the time the house was being demolished.

Here Barrell lived till his death on October 13, 1804, and was buried

at night at his request in the family vault in King's Chapel — a singular desire for one whose life had been so full of enterprise and beauty, though doubtless resulting from the material reverses in the closing years. Born in 1740, the Copley portrait about thirty years later reveals one of the strong motives of his life, the love of luxury, which dominated to the end.

The next house of this type in point of time, and of unusual interest, was built by General Henry Knox, a man whose whole life in integrity of moral and spiritual character is an inspiration — the boyhood of privation, toil, and self-education; the manhood of applied ability, daring, and leadership in his country's service. Born in Boston, where he was married in 1774 to Lucy, daughter of Thomas Flucker, the Royal Secretary of the Province, he escaped with her through the enemy's lines at night, rendered a service in the Revolution out of all proportion to credit given him, and resigning his post as Secretary of War he removed to Thomaston in the Province of Maine, occupying the house in the summer of 1795.

This house, which was begun in 1793, was occupied by General Knox till his death in 1806 and was demolished about 1870. In connection with its erection, Knox mentioned 'Messrs Simpson and Hersey, and Messrs Dunton and Cushing,' one or more of whom were probably Boston builders. Indeed, the Boston source of the design seems obvious, though Knox through his association with Jefferson may have drawn direct from English designs. In any case the execution furnishes an example of this type, and is suggestive in general line of the Barrell mansion. Like the latter, the site commanded a broad view of a river and the approach was through a double gate with carved eagles on the posts. The mansion was flanked by nine other buildings in the form of a crescent.

The residence is described as fifty-six by forty-eight feet, facing south, with the General's reception-room in the bow, 'twenty feet long and sixteen across,' finished with four doors and two fireplaces. Back of this room was a large hall in the middle of the house out of which stairs ascended on two sides to a square landing at the rear from which one flight rose to the second floor with galleries on the sides giving on the rooms there. At one time the house contained a Copley portrait of Thomas Flucker and another of Knox by Stuart. The railed veranda across the front of the mansion is not shown in the old painting published in 1900.[1] It is to be hoped that the proposed reproduction of the house may be accomplished, both for its historical and architectural value. No evidence has been found to connect Bulfinch with this design, except that bearing on this type of house, which he introduced.

Another of these houses was built by Jonathan Mason and occupied by him October 20, 1802, being probably the second house erected on the Copley land after its purchase in 1795. The first house was that built by Harrison Gray Otis at what is now 85 Mount Vernon Street and occupied by him not later than 1801. A letter among the Otis papers determines the date of sale of his first house in Cambridge Street as a little prior to January 25, 1801. Mason and Otis were prominent lawyers, associated in many enterprises, including the Copley purchase which they shared with Benjamin Joy and the trustee for Mrs. Hepsibah Swan, Henry Jackson. Mason continued to occupy the house till his death in 1831, and in 1839 it was demolished. Our knowledge of the house, which stood at the head of Walnut Street looking down across the Common, is limited to the Pendleton lithograph. The notable features are in the front elevation, with its pilasters,

[1] *Henry Knox*, by Noah Brooks. G. P. Putnam's Sons Co.

JONATHAN MASON MANSION

ornamental blocks, and low-down windows, the upper ones with small balconies. The close association of Bulfinch with both Mason and Otis, if there was no other evidence, would leave little doubt that he designed this house for Mason.

Direct evidence of the association of Bulfinch with Mason and Otis and with the Copley purchase rests on his deposition November 14, 1836,[1] that in 1794 he was interested in a parcel of land extending from Beacon Street, north, and from Belknap Street, west. The agreement between Samuel Cabot, John Singleton Copley's agent and attorney,

[1] Suffolk Deeds, Book 387, f. 257 and fol.

and Mason, Otis, Bulfinch, Joseph Woodward, and William Scollay, dated June 17, 1795, was signed by all except Woodward. In the deed executed in the following February, Mason and Otis only are named, 'for themselves and in trust for the other proprietors,' according to the testimony in Bulfinch's deposition. Actual ownership by Bulfinch in any of the Copley land does not appear, but in March, 1796, William Scollay and Charles Bulfinch released to Mason and Otis title to certain lots in the Zachariah Phillips pasture which extended north of the Copley land.

Further evidence that this was a part of a general land scheme on Beacon Hill is found in a plan made by Bulfinch for a street lay-out of this area including a large park. The failure of the project as set forth in the plan was due largely to the unsettled condition of business which came almost to a standstill with the embargo of 1807. The almost complete withdrawal of Bulfinch from this land scheme dates from January, 1796, at the time of the collapse of the Franklin Place venture. The more complete story of the Copley purchase may be found in the admirable researches of Allen Chamberlain in his 'Beacon Hill: Its Ancient Pastures and Early Mansions' (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1925).

It is of interest to compare the Mason house, with its single swell, with the Thurston house, which stood just back of the Monument on Beacon Hill, having a double swell, and probably erected a little later than the former structure. Nothing has been found to connect Bulfinch with the Thurston house, but this unusual double swell, repeated once at least, is of interest.

Another example of this type is Fay House, the administration building of Radcliffe College, Cambridge, of more than usual interest because it has two swells or bays, one in the middle and the other at

the end of the house. Said to have been built in 1802 and at one time the residence of Edward Everett, it had been much enlarged and changed before the College bought it in 1885. The original lines can be determined, but that the third floor belongs to 1802 is not clear. It is notable that the roof has modern framing, and that the belt course at the top of the second story is corbelled. Built of brick and now painted, it is difficult to determine when the first coat was applied.

FAY HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The front door leads through the bay into what may have been an elliptical hall, on the left of which is an oval room approximately twenty by twenty-eight feet, and eleven feet high, with a simple stucco cornice, embrasured windows, and a thirty-four-inch dado. Above this on the second floor is another oval room with plainer finish, and opposite these oval rooms are two nearly square rooms with interesting mantels and mouldings. There is nothing else to determine the original finish of the house. The exterior, with its unusually placed swells, and the oval rooms constitute the chief architectural features.

There is a Bulfinch tradition, but as yet no evidence. His influence, however, is unmistakable.

A full list of houses with an oval room or swell front, whether attributable to Bulfinch direct or not, would be of considerable length and of much interest. The country house at Dorchester, Massachusetts, of Mrs. James or Hepsibah Swan had a circular drawing-room, described as being 'thirty-two feet in diameter,' with a 'dome-shaped ceiling,' in a projecting swell front and may with safety be ascribed to Bulfinch. Oakley, the country house of Otis, built about 1808 also had an oval room. Both of these houses have been removed. The Morton house, Roxbury, dating about the year 1796, had an oval room and can be assigned to Bulfinch, though the façade motives are less suggestive of him than those of the Crafts house, Roxbury (1805), attributed to Peter Banner.[1]

Another house of this type with an unconfirmed Bulfinch tradition is the Governor Gore mansion at Waltham, Massachusetts, built probably after Gore's return from London in 1804, and certainly after 1799 when the former house was destroyed by fire. It may be probable, as another tradition states, that Gore brought the plans from England, but there is no internal evidence that any of the material came from there, which is included in the tradition. A design very close to that executed at Waltham is in the 'Original Designs in Architecture,' by W. Thomas (London, 1783), and a copy of this book, much used, was in the possession of Bulfinch; but no evidence has been found that this or a similar design came direct from London or through Bulfinch.

The outstanding features of the interior are the beautiful mantels quite in the spirit of McIntire as we see it at Salem, Massachusetts, and the oval room twenty by thirty feet, in the middle of the house

[1] See Fiske Kimball, *American Domestic Architecture*, pp. 197, 198.

immediately back of the semi-oval reception-room lying between the two halls on the north. The oval room was substantially repeated on the second floor with a dentiled mantel like that in the room below. But the general finish is surprisingly plain, failing to satisfy the

Designed by C. Bulfinch about 1796. for Copley Lamed
and excepting the second story windows, precisely the front of
what Mr. H. G. Otis called The Brick House on Lynde & Chamber
Street.

FIRST HARRISON GRAY OTIS HOUSE, 1796

elaborate plan or to harmonize with the finely wrought mantels, and especially noticeable in the general lack of cornices, in the extreme simplicity of the low dados, and the spiral staircase. The mansion constitutes a rare and valuable example of this type of architecture and is deserving of careful restoration and preservation.

The Commandant's house at the Charlestown Navy Yard belongs to this type of residences and by tradition has been attributed to Bulfinch, but the only evidence to connect it with him lies in the

double swell looking toward the water which constitutes the chief interest so far as Bulfinch or the period is concerned. Begun probably in 1809 by Captain Samuel Nickerson, then Commandant, successive changes have removed nearly all original marks, including the cornice and the interior finish. The curved lines, never good, are now obscured by an outer brick shell giving the building on this elevation the appearance of having round corners.

ORIGINAL CORNICE, FIRST OTIS HOUSE

Besides these houses with swell fronts or oval rooms which we have considered, there is the third Otis mansion, to be noticed later, which has an oval room, and the house built by Benjamin Joy in Chestnut Street in 1802. No example of this style has been found dating later than 1810, and few outside of Boston and vicinity except the General Knox mansion. The material used in the construction of all the houses of this type was brick.

The first house built by Harrison Gray Otis, at the corner of Cambridge and Lynde Streets, was not in existence when the assessors reported about the first of June, 1796, but was occupied by him before the following June and is assessed as a 'large new house.' Naturally we should expect that Otis would have turned to Bulfinch for a design, and there is a small sketch in one of Bulfinch's books of a front elevation very close to what we find in the house to-day, now the headquarters of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. There also is another very similar sketch in color found in the Otis Papers, and according to the inscription assigning 1796 as the date. In comparing the sketches with the house as built and as it is to-day, we note the absence of the ornamental tablets designed to be set above the second-story windows, relieving the unfilled space, which, with the high line of the upper string-course, is a noticeable defect. The present brick cornice is not the original one, which was of wood, still in existence on the west end and a well-executed design. The present Palladian and bow windows are reproductions. From the evidence in the sketches the porch was not a part of the original design, though possibly added. It is interesting to note in both sketches

LOWER HALL, FIRST OTIS HOUSE

the treatment of the second story windows with their small balconies. The façade suggests the possible influence of the Bingham house, Philadelphia, which interested Bulfinch during his visit there in 1789.

The interior is delightful, particularly on the first and second floors, but that all the design and finish can be assigned to 1796 or to Bulfinch, it is impossible to say. The most notable rooms are the entrance hall with its beautiful staircase, the dining-room at the left, the drawing-room above it, now largely reproduced and of much interest, the upper hall with two Palladian windows, and the two very interesting rooms furnished by the Colonial Dames. The outstanding architectural feature in the southeast room is the fine cornice which we acclaim at once as in harmony with the other finish belonging to the 1796 period. The house throughout has low dados, embrasured windows, and some mouldings belonging to the first period of the house. Here, too, are stucco cornices and marble mantels which not so surely belong to 1796. There are many touches indicating the Adam influence, which, if belonging to 1796, make the house one of the first examples of that style of finish.

UPPER HALL, FIRST OTIS HOUSE

DINING-ROOM MANTEL, FIRST OTIS HOUSE

The third floor, planned for sleeping-rooms, furnishes an interesting example of simple interior with its distinctive charm. The house, which had been greatly changed and mutilated, was restored at considerable cost, after careful study of the question involved, by the Society for which it furnishes a fitting home.

CORNER OF COLONIAL DAMES ROOM
FIRST OTIS HOUSE
Showing cornice

The second house built by Otis in 1800 and occupied by him in 1801, known now as 85 Mount Vernon Street, is unquestionably a Bulfinch design. Both tradition and the Bulfinch characteristics are strong. The proportions, the pilasters, the arched recess around the window openings are just what we find on the north side of Franklin Place; and the house is a fine example of that type of Bulfinch residence. The main entrance formerly at the west has been removed and part of the old hall incorporated with a projecting addition to form a dining-room; but that part of the old hall containing the beautiful staircase remains. The finely carved marble mantels in the parlors are not original; but the finish in both these rooms doubtless is, including the door and

window mouldings with reed motives and the interesting dado top finish. The windows have embrasured shutters with finish mouldings slightly varying from the door mouldings. It is interesting to compare the southwest parlor cornice, plain, well-proportioned, and probably original, with the southeast room cornice of stucco, much more elaborate but with poorer lines and lacking projection. This comparison bears upon the problem of stucco work in general and in particular upon the question of date of finish now seen in the first Otis house, Cambridge and Lynde Streets. The second-floor cornices are simple and in harmony with that in the southwest parlor. We need more definite facts concerning stucco work and its development in Boston and New England, as we do of the early use of marble mantels. There are opinions on both subjects, but the evidence before us is scant. A feature of the staircase is the delicately carved acanthus newel around which wind the well-wrought slender balusters. On the whole the house to-day is a splendid example of this type of Bulfinch design and of careful, skilled workmanship. All the lines are well-balanced and the ornamentation beautifies without obtruding.

A few years later Otis built a third house at what is now 45 Beacon Street which he continued to occupy from 1806 till his death. Before that event the beautiful gardens at the east were given over to dwellings and the old setting for a well-shaped house was lost. Into this garden projected a bow, suggestive of the Barrell mansion, though on different ground plan, and was a mark of the continued taste for an oval room. There is much in the front elevation in common with a double house on Mount Vernon Street of about the same date and designed by Bulfinch. The present stone facing is not original, but doubtless there were arched window recesses like those found in the ell and in the double house just mentioned. So, too, features common

SECOND HARRISON GRAY OTIS HOUSE, 1800

Now 85 Mount Vernon Street

THIRD HARRISON GRAY OTIS HOUSE, 1805–06

Now 45 Beacon Street

to both structures are the low-down second-story windows with small iron balconies, found in Park Street, to be described later.

Of the interior little can be said because of the almost complete change, particularly on the first and second floors. The oval room on the second floor now projecting into the adjacent house remains, but the staircase and much of the finish material are gone. It is only on the third and fourth floors with mantels and mouldings of the period that something of the original spirit of the interior is felt, suggestive of the finer treatment of the floors below; but little else to help re-create the residence for over forty years of its celebrated occupant.

It is interesting to find in the Otis Papers that the first house was sold for $18,400 and the second for $22,984, possession of the latter to be given June 1, 1806.

These three Otis residences, each one called by Otis his 'mansion house,' have been considered together because of their association and because they furnish examples of nearly all Bulfinch motives found in known designs of residences by him, such as the use of pilasters and the good proportions in Franklin Place, the arched window recess in Franklin Place and ten years later in Park Place, and the low-down window used in both Park Place and Colonnade Row. One or more of these motives appear in the bulk of the residences built between 1800 and 1810, and with family tradition, not to have undue weight, help to determine the probability of Bulfinch influence during this and the following period. In no case, be it noted, is there any evidence derived from Bulfinch records bearing on single residences. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that Bulfinch had few or no competitors till toward the close of the decade, especially in Boston. McIntire's work was confined almost wholly to Salem, while the influence of Asher Benjamin and Solomon Willard, who arrived in Boston in the opening

years of the century, is not marked. Hence the obvious inference concerning Bulfinch during this period, and especially up to 1805 or 1806.

Information of Benjamin is as yet very incomplete. His residence in Boston can be established from 1803 till 1845, the year of his death, and his numerous books on architecture in various editions were published during the years from 1797 to 1851. The number of designs in these books is relatively small, some drawn directly from Bulfinch and others poor adaptations. For the most part they are builders' guides, containing rules for the working of the 'orders.' The evidence in hand points to a strong influence by Bulfinch on designs by Benjamin, but the facts are not sufficient to warrant a conclusion.

There is no evidence to connect Solomon Willard, who arrived in Boston at the age of twenty-one, probably in 1804, with any design till after 1815; nor that Peter Banner made any design prior to that for Park Street Church which was begun in 1809. Though Banner has been credited with the design of the Crafts house, Roxbury (1805), no other evidence of him has been found at this time. Not only was Bulfinch well known, but up to 1805 he stood alone in architecture, and so far as houses are concerned without practical competition till the period of the war.

We emerge from the region of tradition and probability into the light of certainty when we consider the four connected houses which were completed in Park Street in 1805. Of these we have a front elevation and floor plans by Bulfinch, now preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a photograph here reproduced of the last remaining building, 4 Park Street, for many years occupied by Houghton Mifflin Company. There is little illustration of the former interior, almost the only indication being in the two upper

NO. 4 PARK STREET

PARK STREET AND THE STATE HOUSE, ABOUT 1870

ELEVATION, 1–4 PARK STREET
From original by Bulfinch

floors at number 4, where the finish found is very plain. The copy of the old photograph indicates the former beauty and simplieity of the exterior and by comparing with the recent photograph we may note the few changes made.

The impressive mark in these buildings is the arched recess which is found on four groups of dwellings built almost immediately after Park Street. The first group is composed of '7 new houses' first taxed by the assessors in 1806 for $35,000, and built by William Clapp on the north side of Bulfinch Place. These were sold from 1806 to 1809, the one on the corner of Bulfinch Street to Jonathan Howard in 1807, of which an old photograph furnishes our only knowledge of the character of the buildings. It seems most likely, because of association,

that Clapp should have employed Bulfinch to furnish the design which, following closely Park Street, shows the same general lines including the characteristic arched recess.

Opposite these seven houses, on the south side, stands a house that has been connected persistently, in the family and other tradition, as the house built by Bulfinch, and occupied by him from about 1800 to to 1815. A certain diary record reads, 'I was born . . . at 8 Bulfinch Place in the house built by Bulfinch of whom my father bought it.' This house is utterly altered both by the addition of upper stories and by interior changes that leave no mark of any former beauty. That Bulfinch designed the building is most likely, not only because of his association with Clapp, but from the evidence found in the structure; but there is not the slightest evidence that he ever occupied it as a dwelling. The house in Middlecot Street which he occupied up to 1796, and probably since his removal from Marlborough Street in 1791, became the residence of William Clapp, and, together with a considerable tract of land, was deeded to him in 1797. In that year Clapp cut through a thirty-foot street now called Bulfinch Place, which does not appear on Osgood Carleton's 1805 map, and subsequently erected the seven houses already described. To carry this out, Clapp borrowed thirty thousand dollars and executed a mortgage deed June 17, 1805, which makes no mention of Bulfinch Place or any building thereon; but in another deed, October 13, 1806, he specifies 'a certain brick dwelling-house now improved by myself situated in Bulfinch Place.' Clapp's widow conveyed this house to Henry Rice in 1811, who evidently occupied it till his conveyance of the property in 1841.

The Bulfinch family, after the few years with the Storers in Southack's Court, occupied a small house in Middlecot Street, taxed in 1800 for five hundred dollars and 'a decent house' in Southack's Court

HOWARD HOUSE, BULFINCH PLACE, 1806

From an old photograph

assessed for $1000 the next year. In 1802, we find Bulfinch assessed in Bulfinch Street, thus confirming the Boston Directory which gives Bulfinch Street as the residence as late as 1813; but comparison of the deeds shows that the Southack's Court and Bulfinch Street property was the same and lying near or upon Bulfinch Street. The period of occupancy of this house is that generally assigned to 8 Bulfinch Place.

These are clear facts obtained at a cost of considerable research, notwithstanding the seeming good testimony from the old diary which belonged to a daughter of Henry Rice. It is only fair to say that this daughter was born in 1833 and lived at 8 Bulfinch Place only as a mere girl, and therefore should be excused for misinformation which nevertheless occasioned much labor.

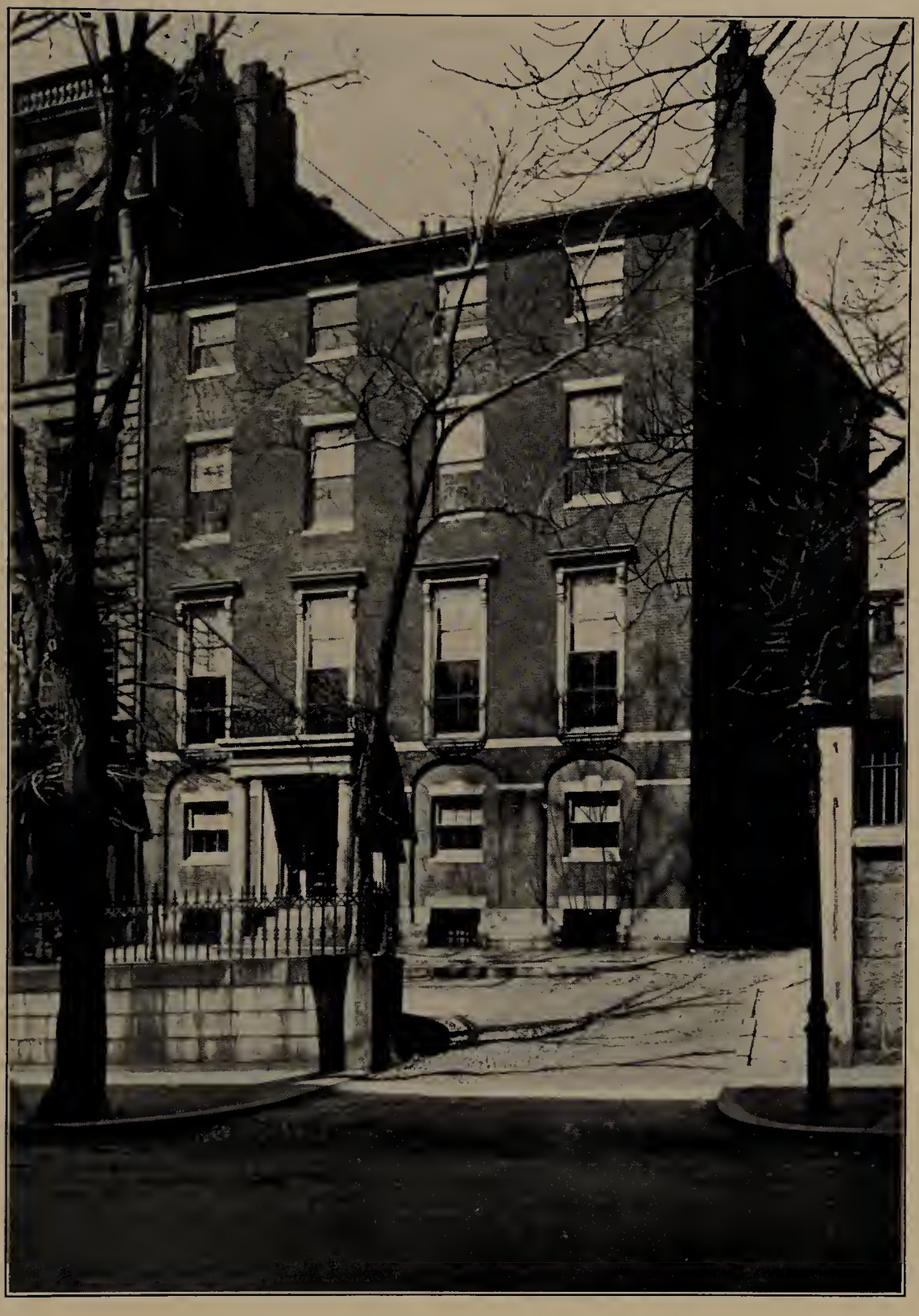
Additional evidence on the residence of Bulfinch in Bulfinch *Street* is found in some old papers which have come to light recently in a rather remarkable way. In the spring of 1925, a gentleman called on Captain William B. Clarke at the rooms of the Bostonian Society and offered him a very small, old trunk which he had rescued from destruction. Because this could not be accepted by the Society, as there was no evidence connecting it with Boston, it was given to Captain Clarke. On opening it at his home, papers were found which had belonged to Captain Clarke's great-grandmother, Lucy Watson, and related also to Charles Bulfinch. Among these papers are lease agreements which prove that Bulfinch resided in Bulfinch Street in 1810–13, in a house owned by the above-mentioned Lucy Watson, and that the rent paid was two hundred and fifty dollars per annum. The earliest dated of these agreements indicates that the rental had been running previous to the date of the paper. Thus the conclusion already stated from other evidence is doubly confirmed.

The records seem to warrant assigning the erection of 8 Bulfinch

Place to the years 1805–06, about the same time as the seven houses on the north side of the street. Though practically everything in the interior is gone beyond recall, including what has been described as a 'beautiful ball-room and a royal staircase,' the exterior presents interesting details. Marks of the original design are found in the arched recesses, the ornamental blocks, and in parts at least of the window headers, but the continuation of the first-story cornice from the porch was a later addition. Above the arches may be seen vertical lines on the brick extending up to the termination of the Flemish bond suggesting pilasters and an entablature, of which the present cornice is a part, similar in treatment to that at 85 Mount Vernon Street. It would seem that the lines and ornamentation of the porch have been changed but little. Though the house lacked a good setting, the Bulfinch mark of good proportions is evident.

Bowdoin Square was reproduced in illustration by the Bostonian Society in 1922 from old pictures of houses formerly there, showing, besides the Bulfinch and the Chardon houses, the Samuel Parkman house built probably about 1789, possibly with some Bulfinch influence, the Blake-Tuckerman house, to be considered later, the Scripps-Booth house, and the Armstrong house on Bulfinch Street. The latter had strong Bulfinch characteristics, notably in the pilaster motive as found on the north side of Franklin Place, and helps us to understand the original front of number 8 Bulfinch Place.

Practically at the same time of the Bulfinch Place buildings a double house was built just below the second Harrison Gray Otis house on Mount Vernon Street half of which remains to give an example. Bulfinch was connected with the erection of these houses, which stood, as the remaining one does now, upon a curved drive, deeding the eastern one to Stephen Higginson, Jr., and the other to



HOUSE OF STEPHEN HIGGINSON, JR., NO. 87 MOUNT VERNON STREET
BOSTON, 1806

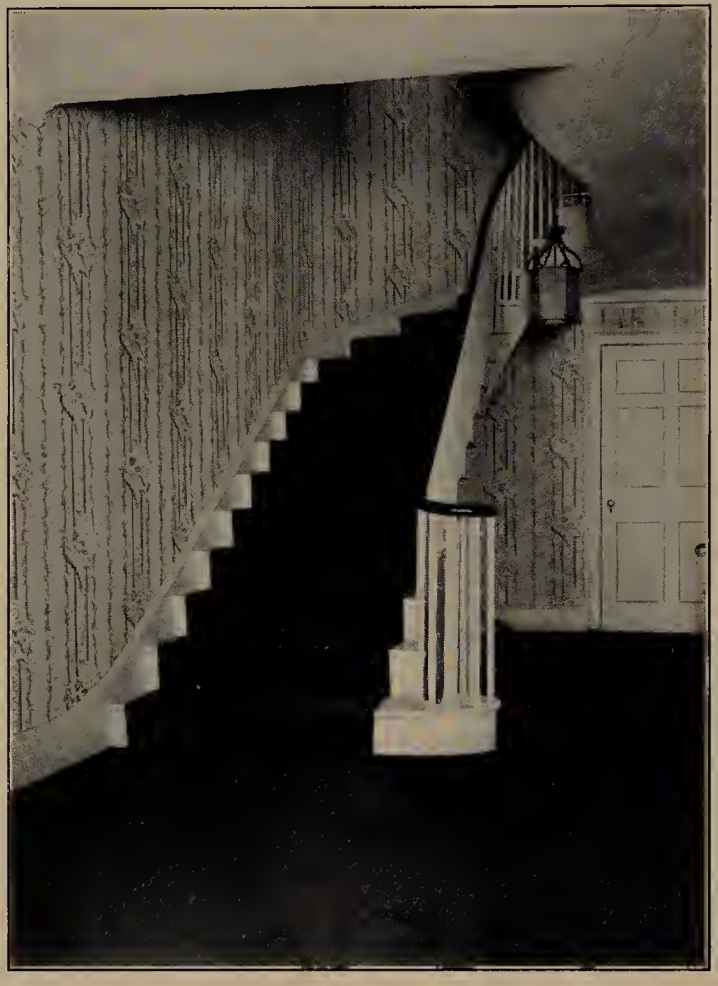
NOS. 55 (RIGHT) AND 57 MOUNT VERNON STREET, BOSTON

David Humphreys in 1806, both incomplete. Built at the same time as the third Otis house, 45 Beacon Street, their front elevations have much in common, the only essential difference being in the better cornice at Mount Vernon Street.

Following this double house four connected houses were erected by Jonathan Mason just east of his mansion, which probably were not finished before 1807. Three of these are still standing, two with the original and unchanged beautiful cornice. The first and second of these faced west, the present front door of the former being a part of a later addition containing a hall which connects with the old hall. The second, 55 Mount Vernon Street, preserves very closely the original finish, which, while plain, has good mantels and original stone fireplaces and a general uniformity and charm throughout. The small porch at the front door is a later addition. The arrangement of staircases and rooms in both these houses seems to have been the same, but the third, which with the fourth house had the door at the south, has a different floor plan, the hall lying west of the other rooms, with a very interesting spiral staircase running from the second floor at the rear lit by a round roof window. The front staircase, now gone, ascended from the first to the third floors in the form of an ellipse and lit by a window in the roof.

The last group of residences of this period and type at 13, 15, and 17 Chestnut Street probably was begun and finished at about the same time as the four houses built by Mason, though with a finer interior which with few changes is exceptionally well-preserved. The finish of all three houses is almost the same — door and window trim identical with the trim at 55 Mount Vernon Street, thirty-inch dados, fireplaces and mantels on good lines, and graceful staircases winding in an ellipse and lit by an oval skylight. In each house the marble mantels

in the double parlors on the second floor are doubtless early, but evidence is lacking to assign them to the period when the houses were finished or before 1810. These mantels are of the same design, differing only in color, one half being black and one half white, placed, it would seem, according to family taste, as we find two white mantels at number 13, two black at number 15, and one black and one white at number 17. These residences were built for her three daughters by Mrs. Hepsibah Swan, wife of James Swan, who had amassed a fortune in France, becoming at last involved and imprisoned on charge of debt. At the time of the French Revolution, Mr. Swan had purchased and sent home a considerable quantity of household furnishings which adorned Mrs. Swan's winter home and her summer home in Dorchester. A granddaughter has given an interesting account of Mrs. Swan's reception to Lafayette at the country house. Here, in the oval drawing-room with its three windows giving on the piazza, so like a French salon, and furnished with purchases from the Tuileries which Mr. Swan had sent



LOWER HALL, 13 CHESTNUT STREET, BOSTON

HALLWAY OF NO. 55 MOUNT VERNON STREET, BOSTON

13, 15, AND 17 CHESTNUT STREET, BOSTON

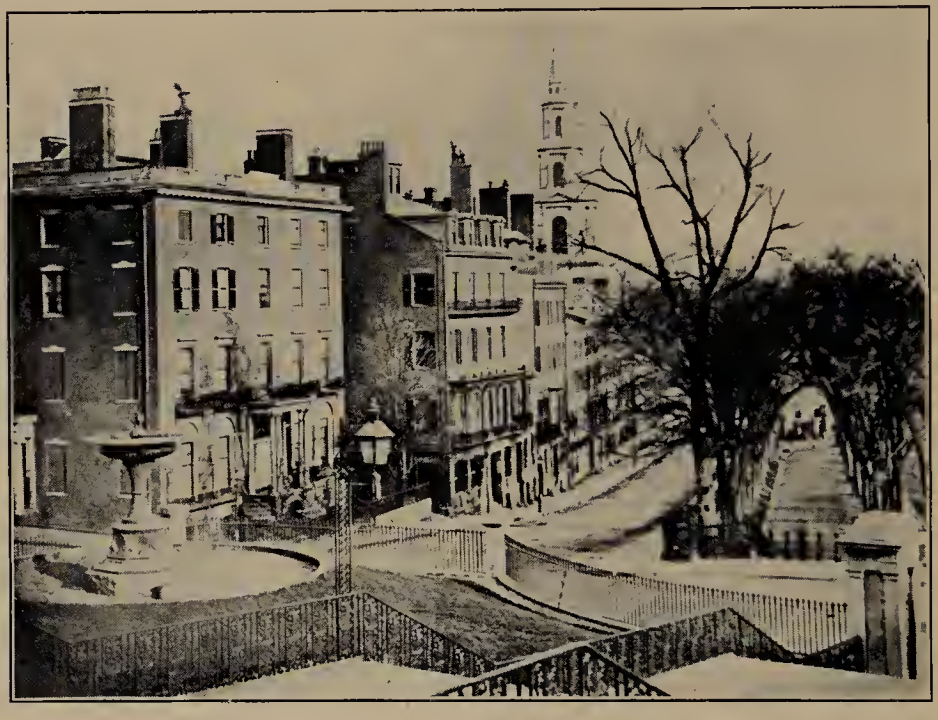
home, Mrs. Swan entertained her distinguished guest whom she had known in her younger years. This granddaughter also has told how from their Chestnut Street home Copley's small wooden house on Beacon Street was plainly to be seen, where that noted artist had painted many of his portraits before his departure for England in 1774.

BEDROOM MANTEL, 15 CHESTNUT STREET

Number 17 is of especial interest for its direct and continued association with Mrs. Swan, its atmosphere of the past and the largely unchanged original finish. It is now owned by Miss Elizabeth Bartol, a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Swan, and contains much of the beautiful furnishings sent over by Mr. Swan. Over the mantel in the front parlor hangs the portrait of Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Swan's daughter who first lived here, at the right is the portrait of Mr. Swan and at the left one of Mrs. Swan, all by Stuart; on the mantel the French clock and candelabra and in the fireplace the gilt fire-goats (not dogs). The great city shrinks, and again the past returns with its romance and reality.

A feature in nearly all of the houses of this period is the cornice, the most notable found at 55 and 57 and 85 and 87 Mount Vernon Street. It should be noted how closely the four groups of houses just discussed follow Park Street both in date and in general plan, in all the same proportions and the arched window recess in the first story, and the low-down windows in Park Street and at 87 Mount Vernon Street.

Two other notable houses of this period should be mentioned, that built by Thomas Amory about 1804 (later called the Ticknor house), and the John Phillips residence now numbered 1 Walnut Street, erected in 1805 by the man who in 1822 became Boston's first mayor. Both houses remain, though much changed, but though there is no evidence to connect Bulfinch with the Phillips house, the marks on the other are unmistakable. This latter is larger and more elaborate,



PARK STREET, SHOWING AMORY HOUSE ON THE CORNER

answering to Amory's ambition, and had the arched window recesses and the low-down windows with balconies which we have just noticed. Amory suffered reverses, the news arriving just as he was preparing to receive guests in his new house, whom he welcomed to the house-warming knowing that on the morrow they and others would know that he was bankrupt.

The Thomas Perkins house at the corner of Joy and Mount Vernon Streets belongs to this early period and is of considerable interest.

INTERIOR, 15 CHESTNUT STREET, BOSTON

NO. 17 CHESTNUT STREET, BOSTON

How directly it is due to Bulfinch influence is not clear. It had the arched window recess in the first floor of the front elevation, but the proportions are not so good as usually are found in his designs. Built in the years 1804 and 1805 and occupied in 1806, the beautiful marble mantels carved in Italy were not received till January, 1806. These mantels are still in existence on Beacon Hill, being removed from the house when it was demolished in 1853, and are rare examples of this style and date in Boston.

THOMAS PERKINS HOUSE, CORNER OF MOUNT VERNON AND JOY STREETS, 1804–05
From an old photograph

Mention is made of the double house at 54–55 Beacon Street because of its colonnaded balcony on lines found in 'Colonnade Row.' The date of erection falls between the dates of two conveyances, that of the land on December 10, 1806, and of the eastern half of the house on November 9, 1808. The swell front and the baleony design suggest Bulfinch, but the treatment of the pilasters is not good, particularly the awkward handling of the entablature block in contrast with the truer lines at 85 Mount Vernon Street and in the houses on the north side of Franklin Place. The building should be compared with numbers 39 and 40

Beacon Street which Bulfinch did not design, and with Colonnade Row which he did. An almost identical residence in Summer Street is illustrated in the 'New England Magazine' for November, 1898, the residence at one time of Edward Everett.

Colonnade Row, a series of nineteen dwellings, not twenty-four as sometimes stated, extended from West Street to Mason Street on land formerly included in the Common and conveyed by the town in 1795. By November 15, 1809, this land was owned by David Greenough and others, and a conveyance of one of the houses is recorded June 17, 1811. Comparison of a lithograph published in 1843 with the copy of the old 1855 photograph shows how unreliable old cuts may be in details, particularly here in failing to show the balanced proportions, a strong Bulfinch characteristic. The Doric colonnade with the delicate balconies had charm, and, varying both in width and door treatment, the block had harmony without monotony. Well-set, facing the Common, catching the cool breezes of summer across the Charles, this group of dwellings is one of the most interesting of Bulfinch designs. The treatment of the cornice, simple and good, has disappeared and the interiors of the few remaining houses have been utterly changed. In the rear were gardens and stables which helped to make these residences among the best in town.

Bulfinch mentions a succession of works in architecture of private houses, etc., during this period, and the full list would probably include others not yet found or mentioned above, though those described are typical examples.

COLONNADE ROW, TREMONT STREET, BOSTON, 1810

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT SELECTMAN IN WAR AND PEACE

THERE is little in the records for 1812 and 1813 to denote that war was in progress. Boston, never in favor of hostilities with England, went on largely undisturbed, and though before the close there were suffering and business depression there was no participation in actual war. Yet while building activities continued there was little town expansion and no matters of importance bearing upon Bulfinch or his service during these two years. He gave his time to the steady routine of town affairs and made some designs, but of his attitude on the policies of the National Administration or toward the war we find no hint.

DESIGN FOR A CITY HOUSE
From the original drawing made after 1800

Against the formal declaration of war suggested by President Madison, June 1, 1812, and adopted by Congress on the 18th, Boston

registered its opposition on the 11th in an unanimously adopted resolution that 'it is of the last importance to the interests of this country to avert the threatened calamity of war with Great Britain, and also to restore the freedom of commerce, if these important objects can be attained consistently with safety and honor of the American Nation.' A committee was appointed that, at an adjourned meeting of the town the following day, offered a report which after full debate was accepted and 'the Selectmen were requested to transmit a copy thereof to each town in this Commonwealth.' The report complains that 'the National Government is unprepared for war, and that under pretense of resisting the invasion of maritime rights it has debarred its own citizens from the use of the ocean.' 'The decrees of France, the edicts of England, and the Acts of Congress . . . constitute in effect, a triple league for the annihilation of American commerce.' Abandonment of commercial restrictions was the burden of both report and resolutions; war against Great Britain alone was 'unjust,' against both Great Britain and France 'an extravagant undertaking,' and an alliance with France a subversion of liberty and independence. The citizens of other commercial states are earnestly requested to join for 'restoration of our unalienable commercial rights' and 'the security of our peace.'

Two years later this spirit found its culmination in the Hartford Convention. Boston had made its protest, had uttered its warning with disapprobation; but war was declared, on what principle of statesmanship it is difficult to discover. We cannot fail to see that commercial interests bulked large, coloring the spirit of patriotism; no more can we fail to recognize the essential fairness of the criticism of the Administration.

Another step toward the Hartford Convention was taken by the

inhabitants in a meeting in Faneuil Hall August 6th, to condemn the mob violence against the freedom of the press in Baltimore. The resolution, 'passed nearly unanimously in the affirmative,' cited 'that those outrageous proceedings are in our opinion attributable to the present wanton, impolitic, and unjust war . . . and that we perceive no refuge from destruction, but in a change in our present rulers.' The article in the warrant to consider the expediency of calling a State Convention was warmly debated, continued in an adjourned meeting the next day when it was 'nearly unanimously' voted to choose Harrison Gray Otis, Christopher Gore, Dr. John Warren, Theodore Lyman, Samuel Parkman, David Sears, and a number of others with a delegate from the Town of Chelsea, delegates for the County of Suffolk to act with delegates from other counties in the matter.

We do not hear of this question again in town meeting, but the outcome is found in the Resolves of the General Court, October 15, 1814, which, because the 'Constitution of the United States had failed to provide protection to Massachusetts and Eastern Sections,' adopted measures for defence and appointed twelve delegates to confer with delegates from other New England States to meet at Hartford December 15th. Many of the names of the delegates are the same as those chosen by the town two years earlier for a possible State Convention. This futile Convention, which contributed to the overthrow of the Federalist Party, met in the State House at Hartford designed by Bulfinch and began its deliberations just as the treaty was signed, December 24th, which ended the war.

Though the Selectmen were requested at the town meeting in August, 1812, to take all proper measures for preserving the public order, little was done or deemed necessary for defence. During 1812 there was slight change in general business conditions or interruption

of commerce, trade being carried on with England by permission of Great Britain's blockade squadron. But in 1813 matters steadily grew worse, ships lay idle in the harbor, and by the spring of 1814 the blockade of New England ports was well-nigh complete. Yet there was little privateering issuing from the port of Boston; in disdain of the war or on principle, it largely held aloof. Unlike the smaller coast towns Boston had suffered little from the depredations of the enemy, but by April, 1814, it was truly alarmed and measures for defence eagerly sought. The Chairman of the Selectmen sent a letter to the Adjutant-General assuring him of the desire of the town to coöperate in measures of defence, and immediate steps were taken to guard the islands and exposed situations, men were put in training for heavy artillery, but the proposition to sink hulks in the channel near Castle and Governor's Islands was not carried into effect, due to the counsel of the Marine Society. But all bridges were guarded and provision made for their destruction if necessary, and in September the Chairman of the Selectmen, acting here and in all these important matters as the town's chief executive, issued a call for volunteers to work on the fortifications. On October 13th, the Chairman acknowledges the valuable help received for the defence of the town and makes appeal to complete Fort Strong, and in November he informs the Secretary of the War Board that over twelve thousand dollars, subscribed by the citizens for defence works, awaited the order of the Board. But nothing happened, Boston remained untouched, the reason why does not appear.

The Massachusetts delegates appointed October 15th, met with the other delegates at Hartford December 15th, and with slight credit to themselves or the Commonwealth they represented voiced a sense of wrong, but wanting the vision of large statesmanship. The Treaty of

Ghent was signed December 24th; and the Selectmen's meeting on February 15th was occupied, in conjunction with a committee from the General Court, in planning for a demonstration of the public joy. Very appropriately the day selected was February 22d. After a salute in the morning and an impressive service in King's Chapel, there was a 'grand civic procession' in which all citizens were invited to join by the Selectmen. The procession halted at several places while the marshals read the proclamation of peace; countermarched on State and Broad Streets and was dismissed at the Old State House. A 'Public Dinner' at the Exchange Coffee House was arranged by the Selectmen at which the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, members of the Council, Senate, and House, Judges, the President of Harvard, and other notables were guests. During the dinner a number of toasts were drunk, His Excellency Governor Strong offering, 'Perpetual peace between Great Britain and the United States and harmony among ourselves.' The celebration was concluded with fireworks in the evening.

The unexpended balance of the contributions for defence was appropriated by the Selectmen in 1816 for the needed improvement of the Common, and Bulfinch and two other members were made a committee to superintend the work. The violent gale in the preceding September had wrought great havoc to the trees, uprooting not less than twenty-five, and this balance for defence was fittingly used in the adornments of peace.

It will be seen even from this inadequate sketch that Bulfinch was closely associated with the events and business incident to the war. Since 1799, by his character and by faithful and efficient performance of his duties, he had become the chief executive in fact if not in name; but there is almost nothing to indicate his personal opinion and judg-

TREMONT STREET MALL

ment on the matters we have been considering, and we can only guess his attitude on the action of the town in appointing delegates to a State Convention or on that of the General Court in instituting the Hartford Convention. He was a Federalist and doubtless in sympathy with the maritime interests of the town, but of his active participation in politics there is no evidence, while in all these issues we should expect fairness and perspective that touched the fundamentals.

The 'arduous duties' of the Chairman of the Board increased and were recognized by his associates who more and more attended to the smaller matters that came before the Selectmen, but the larger and important interests had his full consideration. Of committees appointed by the town for special work, composed of the Selectmen and others, he was not only the Chairman, signing the reports, but he entered fully into their content and the business involved, and the bulk

of the reports seem to have been written by him. Chairman of the 'Convention' composed of the Selectmen, the Overseers of the Poor, and the Board of Health, which the General Court authorized in 1813 to elect the Town Treasurer and Collector and to shape the financial affairs of the town, he not only signed all the annual reports, but rendered intimate and valuable service in the business involved. Hardly a committee on any important business was voted by the town of which he was not made Chairman. In these matters his judgment was sought and his executive ability recognized.

OLD ELM, BOSTON COMMON
Showing Frog Pond and Rope Walks

The report of one of these committees is of especial interest because it deals with a new era in the developing town life. Rendered on October 20, 1813, and signed by Bulfinch, it expresses approval of a petition to grant to a corporation, to be formed, the lands and flats lying about the shores of the bay west of Boston Neck for tide mills, on condition that the corporation should build a dam and bridge to South

Boston and another dam wide enough for a street from the foot of Beacon Street to Roxbury or Brookline. This marks the beginning of the expansion of Boston manufacturing interests which went forward steadily from this period. The war had helped to teach America that in industry as in government it should be free, and though with the cessation of hostilities commerce improved, capital was attracted increasingly to manufacturing.

It is of interest to note that during the war a certain element in humanity ran true to type. So pronounced and common was the evil of cornering of articles of necessity that the town took decisive measures against all 'forestalling of the market' and all fraudulent practices, threatening to revoke all licenses of vendors and dealers, and to bring to punishment those convicted.

Following almost immediately the demonstration of joy on February 22d, came the annual meeting of the town for the election of officers on Monday, March 13th, at which Bulfinch was not elected. The Town Clerk and the nine Selectmen were declared elected, and the meeting adjourned to Thursday. No reason is given in the record for this action, but at the meeting on Thursday we find that the gentlemen who had been chosen to the Board of Selectmen had declined to serve; whereupon the meeting proceeded to ballot again, with the result that Bulfinch and eight other men, five of whom were chosen Monday, were declared elected. The newspaper reports 2688 votes cast, 'the largest vote ever recollected in March,' adding, 'all the candidates are respectable and esteemed Federalists.' That Bulfinch received 1354 votes to 1186 cast for his opponent indicates a real opposition.

Again the meeting adjourned without transacting any other business to Friday, when eight of the members appeared to take the oath, including Mr. Bulfinch, who did so after he had delivered an address

which the meeting immediately and unanimously voted should be published in all the Boston papers. This address for all it reveals is given here entire:

'With your leave, Mr. MODERATOR, I will thank my fellow townsmen for the honor they have done me in re-electing me to the office of Selectman by their deliberate choice, after a full consideration of the subject.

'Twenty-four years have elapsed since I was first chosen to this board; and I have ever since, with the exception of one interval of three years served the town with all the talents I was possessed of. — For sixteen years I have had the honor to preside at the board as Chairman. During this time, no application on public or private business has been received by me with insolence or treated with neglect. No complaint has been made of delay except where imperious circumstances made it necessary, but the claims and interests of every one have been promptly attended to.

'Notwithstanding this, I am sensible, that in many cases of straightening and widening streets, I have been obliged to oppose the private views, and personal interests of individuals; while my object has been to remedy evils which existed from former neglect, and in the removal of which the public convenience was materially concerned. In executing the laws for the maintenance of good order, collisions will sometimes happen with men whom I respect for their general conduct: but particularly in attempting to roll back the torrent of vice at the Hill at West Boston, or to control and keep it within bounds, I have incurred the enmity of some, whose friendship would be a disgrace. The prosecutions have been carried on in my name, but the fines have been paid to the complainants and to the County Treasurer, as his books will testify.

'By your vote of re-election, you give evidence of your approbation of my conduct; and in this persuation I shall continue the same course of duty, upon the same principles which have always actuated me. — While now addressing my fellow citizens, I take the opportunity to mention, that during the long period in which I have attended public business, several attempts have been made to alter the form of our Town government, these have always failed, when attempted on a general scale; but I have seen so many changes gradually introduced, and so many laws have been passed by the Legislature for our particular benefit, that I now think the system of Town-government nearly as perfect as town principles and habits will allow: in effecting these changes, the good effects of which have been tested by experience, I claim no other merit than for suggestions arising from a knowledge of the defects of the system, for the aid which I have afforded, when suitable opportunities have occurred; and for supporting them, in conjunction with my associates, to whose fidelity and zeal for the interest of the Town I can bear testimony; and between whom and myself the utmost harmony has ever existed. But I feel it a special duty to mention the last great improvement, by which the Town Treasurer and Collector is in future to be chosen by a convention of the three boards, who have the direction of the expenditure of the public money; this mode imposes a greater responsibility in the choice, and insures punctuality, dilligence and accuracy in the discharge of the duties of the office. For this important improvement, the Town is indebted to the firmness and perseverance of Benjamin Weld, Esq. whose acknowledged financial abilities authorized him to take a lead in such a measure.

'The establishment of a permanent Committee of Finance, who make an annual and particular report of the state of the monied

concerns of the Town is a measure of my proposing, and the publication of the particulars of the annual expences was never done until adopted by me in the year 1800, the first year when I was Chairman. Such an account has ever since been annually prepared and published, unless directed otherwise by the Town. These measures must convince every person of reflection, that the board has ever been willing that its expenditures should be open to public inspection.

'After apologizing to the Town for occupying them so long on a subject which may appear personal, but which I thought necessary under present circumstances, I am now, Mr. Moderator, ready to take the oath required by law.'

From this straightforward utterance it is clear that the Chairman had run counter to private interests, and that some real effort had been made to grapple with entrenched vice at West Boston some years before Mayor Quincy's strong action to which he refers at length in his 'Municipal History of Boston.' Touched and inspired by the token of the continued support of the majority of the citizens, he points with pride to some of the notable achievements under his administration, and in particular to the Committee of Finance which he had initiated and which proved so highly valuable in the new era he was helping to institute and to serve.

Here, too, for a moment the Chairman emerges from the shadows of the records of votes and routine business and becomes a man of real flesh and blood, of moral principles and motives. He has done his full duty steadfastly, seeking no man's favor, fearing no man's censure. We rejoice with him in this moral triumph and we are glad for this little glimpse into the deeper and truer nature of this genuine citizen.

In the following June another and more insistent attempt was made

to make Boston a city, but though the large committee of representative citizens made a strong report and presented a draft of a bill for the General Court, at a meeting held October 16th, the voters refused, 951 to 920, at the adjourned meeting on November 13th, to adopt the recommendations. By this bill an Intendant was to be chosen annually who should be *ex officio* Chairman of the Selectmen and the chief executive of the city. The work of the finance committee was to go on practically unchanged, but provision was made for a police court. It is interesting to note as members of the reporting committee the names of John Phillips and Josiah Quincy, Boston's first and second mayors respectively.

The years 1816 and 1817 were uneventful, business was stagnant, and town improvements were curtailed in the interest of economy. In 1817 the town directed that the School Committee should be appointed henceforth by the Selectmen, a new police superintendent was chosen in place of Mr. Bulfinch, and subsequently the Chairman of the Selectmen was granted a salary of one thousand dollars. Thus some of the recommendations of the committee in 1815 for a city form of government were put in practice.

A few items in the records are of local interest such as that under date of March, 1816, 'Mr. Abraham Touro applied to the Town Clerk and requested that his religious profession might be recorded on the Town's books . . . and that he belonged to a Synagogue of the Jews.' Again, in June of the same year, 'great complaints having been made of the irregularity in the time of the clocks of Boston, Cambridge and Salem, the Chairman was desired to invite Mr. Bowditch and Professor Farrar to agree upon a mode of drawing acurate meridian lines in those three places, that their time in future may be uniform.'

In 1816 a bequest was received from Abiel Smith, late of Boston,

consisting of a considerable amount of shares in various corporations, together with one thousand dollars, for the 'maintainance and support of a school or schools . . . for the instruction of people of color.' The town had made its first appropriation for the education of colored children in the sum of two hundred dollars in 1812. This gift of Abiel Smith was exceptional, but it was a part of a movement that grew apace down the century making the philanthropic spirit of Boston known near and far. The city has increased in material wealth, but even more in human sympathy.

It is difficult to appraise the moral and spiritual values of this town of considerably over thirty-five thousand people, to know the depths of 'entrenched vice' at West Boston or in other sections, or what was the real power of the Church in widening the human vision; but a broader interpretation of Christianity was expressed in the Church and in the community. Puritanism had steadily declined, the Old Testament code of ethics was giving way to the tolerance and brotherhood of the Christ. Bulfinch's life falls within this period of transition with a constant registration for breadth and freedom. He may have hated evil, but never evil-doers, and his sympathy, so simple and free from false judgment, was in the spirit of his Master. It is here that Bulfinch is a high example of a quality of citizenship utterly different and nobler than that of the Puritan; and it is here that the value of his citizenship in the developing civilization of his day is rich indeed.

In June, 1817, the town was greatly animated at the news of the proposed visit of the President of the United States, and a special meeting of the voters was called when the Selectmen and thirteen other gentlemen were requested to provide for suitable reception. The President's journey had led through Rhode Island where he had visited Newport, Bristol, and Providence, at the latter place receiving

a delegation of the Committee of Arrangements from Boston. Tuesday night he spent at Dedham, and about twelve o'clock on Wednesday, July 2d, a salute from South Boston announced his arrival, and the bells of the town began a merry peal.

After a brief address by Harrison Gray Otis the procession described as being over a mile in extent, composed of a cavalry escort, part of the committee of arrangements on horse, the President on a white charger, Navy and Army officers, Mr. Bulfinch the Chairman, and other members of the committee in carriages and a large number of citizens on horse and in carriages, moved down Washington Street to Boylston and up to the Common where, at the sight of four thousand children, the President unconsciously stopped for a moment. The people thronged the entire line of march exceeding two and one half miles, cheering and expressing their joy and welcome; bands at various points on the route played, and the whole was a demonstration of enthusiasm and good-will.

The President was received at the Exchange Coffee House where Bulfinch voiced the welcome of the people. Recalling the visit of his illustrious predecessor in 1789, the Chairman expressed the hope that the journey would eontribute to a larger understanding of the interests and needs of all of the people and help to promote the common security; and that the powers vested in him by the Constitution 'will be exercised with a sincere regard to the welfare of the people' in the high spirit which has characterized his private and public life in the past. Assuring him of the earnest solicitude of the people of Boston, Mr. Bulfinch expressed the ardent desire that, 'Your administration may, with the blessing of Heaven, . . . promote the advancement of our beloved Country, to the highest possible condition of prosperity.'

To this address President Monroe replied in fitting and sincere

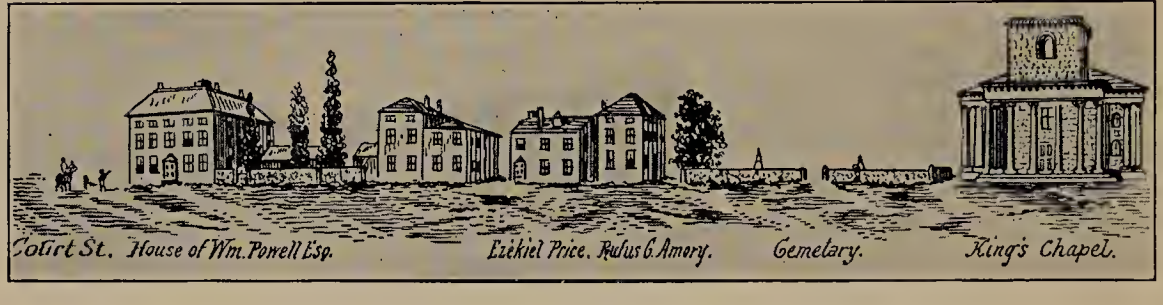
terms. Among the guests at the dinner at the Exchange Coffee House at five o'clock were ex-President Adams, Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, President Kirkland of Harvard College, and the Committee of Arrangements.

During the following days of the visit the President attended Christ Church on Sunday morning and received Communion, and in the afternoon at Channing's Church. On Monday he was received by the President, Professors, and others of Harvard College; a procession was formed and marched to the Chapel in University Hall when the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him, followed by a repast at President Kirkland's home. On Tuesday President Monroe departed for Salem. During those crowded five days there were many events shared by Bulfinch, and thus was formed a mutual regard which had lasting and substantial results. In this experience Bulfinch must have had some measure of satisfaction and of reward incident to the duty of his office.

Mr. Bulfinch presided for the last time at the meeting of the Board on December 22, 1817, when he reported that he had accompanied the Sheriff in taking possession of the land recovered from the heirs of Hancock, north of Beacon Hill. There was little other business and the meeting adjourned. The above report was his last service to the town, and on a matter that had engaged the town, and in particular the Selectmen, for over ten years. Thus closes almost nineteen years of continuous public service, practically as chief executive of the town, to which must be added his earlier period of four years on the Board. The Board met on December 24th to record the resignation of its Chairman and fix on a date for the election of his successor. There is no other record; but the town at the annual March meeting, 1818, 'Voted, that the thanks of the town be presented to Charles Bulfinch

Esq. for his able and faithful services as a selectman for twenty-two years, nineteen of which he with great ability discharged the duties of Chairman of that board.'

The resignation was occasioned by Bulfinch's acceptance, under date of December 12th, of the appointment as architect of the Capitol at Washington, formally confirmed by the Commissioner of Public Buildings January 8, 1818, with the advice that the salary commenced as of December 11th. In a letter dated Washington, March 16th, Bulfinch writes of receiving a letter from the Town Clerk, 'presenting a vote of the Town, expressing their thanks for my long and faithful services — the cheap reward of republics, for which, however, I am grateful.'



OLD VIEW OF PART OF TREMONT STREET, ABOUT 1800
Bulfinch lived west of Court Street, 1815–17.

Any adequate summary of this unique and valuable service is impossible, yet some word must be attempted. Charles Bulfinch's service was to a town that grew from some seventeen thousand people at the close of the Revolution, almost devoid of modern necessities, to city proportions and demands, lacking only a few forms to make it a city, indeed. Very imperfectly we have traced the development and the part he had in it during almost thirty-one years, from his return from Europe in January, 1787, to his departure for Washington the last of December, 1817. The new system of education which admitted girls and enlarged the whole function of the public schools, the creation of a board of health, new, better, and wider streets, a real

police system, a Municipal Court, better accommodations for the poor and the sick, and last of all a finance committee of which he was Chairman, that brought order out of chaos, collected the taxes with a thoroughness only dreamed of before and safeguarded the money which was disbursed in conformity to a well-planned budget;—in all these important matters Charles Bulfinch served the town, associated with men with whom he worked in harmony and coöperation.

Josiah Quincy, Boston's second mayor, recounting in his 'Municipal History of Boston' the achievements of his own administration, so many and valuable, recognizes full well the sure foundation upon which he built, knowing that without foundation his structure would have been far different. Writing of the latter years of the town government, Quincy says, 'the data for its financial history are very complete and satisfactory and evidence wisdom and fidelity with which its affairs had been conducted'; and his personal tribute, printed in 'The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch' is worthy of being repeated, 'Few men deserve to be held by the citizens of Boston in more grateful remembrance than Charles Bulfinch. During the many years he presided over the town government, he improved its finances, executed the laws with firmness, and was distinguished for gentleness and urbanity of manners, integrity and purity of character.'

With reasonable pride Bulfinch recounts at the close of his life that the important improvements during his administration 'were made by the town and paid for,' so that, when he was invited to Washington, 'the debt of the town was only $14,000, with a population in 1818 of 40,000'; 'that the other improvements made in the years immediately following, while of great value for convenience and beauty, have occasioned a debt of $1,600,000, the interest of which is more than the whole annual tax of 1818.'

Faithful in much, in the weightier matters of municipal advance we have considered, he was faithful also in little, in the performance of daily routine without which even the large matters come to naught. It is surprising that this man, who was not a good business man for his personal gain, should have been one of the best in public trust, with a certain talent for administration and execution. In principle he was high and pure, in integrity sure, in enforcement of law fearless and firm, yet ever tempered with fairness and charity. He had faults, but also virtues many; and he won the respect and confidence of the citizens of the town. His reward scanty, measured by material standards, was rich in enduring values, and monuments to his faithful service are everywhere in the town that honors itself by calling him its 'Great Selectman.'

CHAPTER IX

DESIGNS IN ARCHITECTURE, 1812–1817

THE bulk of the building designs during the period just considered belongs to Bulfinch, though, as he records, competitors were beginning to have a share. These competitors were Benjamin, Willard, and Banner, who have been mentioned, and Alexander Parris, in Boston by 1815, who with Willard designed Saint Paul's Church, built in 1820. But as long as Bulfinch remained in Boston the more important designs were his, some of which were executed during the war, furnishing another proof of how little the town was affected by hostilities.

THIRD LATIN SCHOOL BUILDING, 1812

There is conclusive evidence that 'a Grammer School, stone,' in Bulfinch's list was the third Latin School building erected in 1812 with a façade quite in his spirit and on lines closely reproducing the middle elevation of the old Court-House which it faced, the site of the present City Hall. Information of the executed design is confined to the old cut of the building which was demolished in 1844. It is interesting to recall that the Latin School was Boston's only town school till 1682.

'Two large school houses, brick,' in Bulfinch's hand, probably refer to the Hawkins Street School of 1803 and the Mason Street School built in 1816, but no illustration or description of these structures has been found. The dimensions of the Mason Street building are recorded as thirty-two by sixty-two feet of the 'height of the Hawkins Street school house,' and the Chairman and two other members of the Selectmen were made a committee to superintend its erection.

UNIVERSITY HALL AS ORIGINALLY BUILT

Another design by him serving the purposes of education is University Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the corner-stone of which was laid July 1, 1813. Built of Chelmsford granite and first occupied in 1815, it stands to-day in 'the Yard' of Harvard College a fine example of Bulfinch's art. The building which cost $65,000, is fifty by one hundred and forty feet and forty feet high, and contains a chapel forty-five by fifty-five feet and thirty feet high. The design doubtless called for two flights of steps into the yard on the east, omitted on account of economy and constructed some few years ago; but may not have included the portico which was voted and built with nine granite

columns, which was removed in 1842. Thus the exterior as seen to-day, with west and east sides practically alike, is probably close to what Bulfinch planned. The proportions are those usually found in his designs and therefore good; but the treatment of the middle section with four pilasters does not fully satisfy. The building originally contained besides administration offices and the chapel, lecture-rooms and commons; but to-day is devoted to administration purposes

UNIVERSITY HALL AFTER 1842

entirely. There were four dining-rooms and two kitchens, the lines of the semi-circular openings for food from the kitchen still remaining; but commons, against which there was continual complaint, was abolished in 1842. The red hexagonal tiles of the corridors and the old granite stairs ascending to the second floor 'miraculously sustained,' though actually built into the walls on the cantilever principle the same as in the Massachusetts General Hospital, are still in use. Wooden staircases ascended to the third floor and opened upon the galleries of the chapel. The chapel, which was called 'handsome' and

'one of Mr. Bulfinch's masterpieces,' was occupied in 1814; previously to which time the First Church had been used, and, after 1858, Appleton Chapel. The pulpit was on the east where the present chimney cuts into the flanking window frames, and opposite was placed the organ, made in England, the gift of Mrs. Craigie and first used in 1821. The galleries at the ends were said to have been 'deep,' supported by columns and 'richly panelled.' Evidence that there were galleries is found in more than one record, one of which describing the visit of President Monroe in 1817 states that 'the galleries had been opened for the admission of ladies.' These galleries were not included in the restoration of the chapel in 1896 which was well done, removing the floor which divided the chapel in 1868, and restoring the decorative plan. There are six circular top windows on each side, a dado a little over five feet high, and a well-executed entablature. The room is now used for meetings of the faculty and contains many rare and interesting portraits. Across the south corridor are the offices of the President and the Secretary of the Corporation, both with a certain charm of simple design and beautiful furnishing. In the Secretary's office may be seen President Jared Sparks's sideboard and a portrait of Mrs. Sparks on the wall above it. In both rooms are stone fireplaces and a dado approximately three feet eight inches high. The building carries more than a century of association involving the hopes and ambitions of countless Harvard men and the vision of wider life and education. This interesting design by Bulfinch is indeed a worthy monument of a son of 'Fair Harvard.'

The New South Church, Boston, dedicated in December, 1814, was likewise constructed of Chelmsford granite which by its beauty of finish was winning approval as a building material. This edifice is said to have been the first church in Boston to be built of hammered

CHAPEL, UNIVERSITY HALL

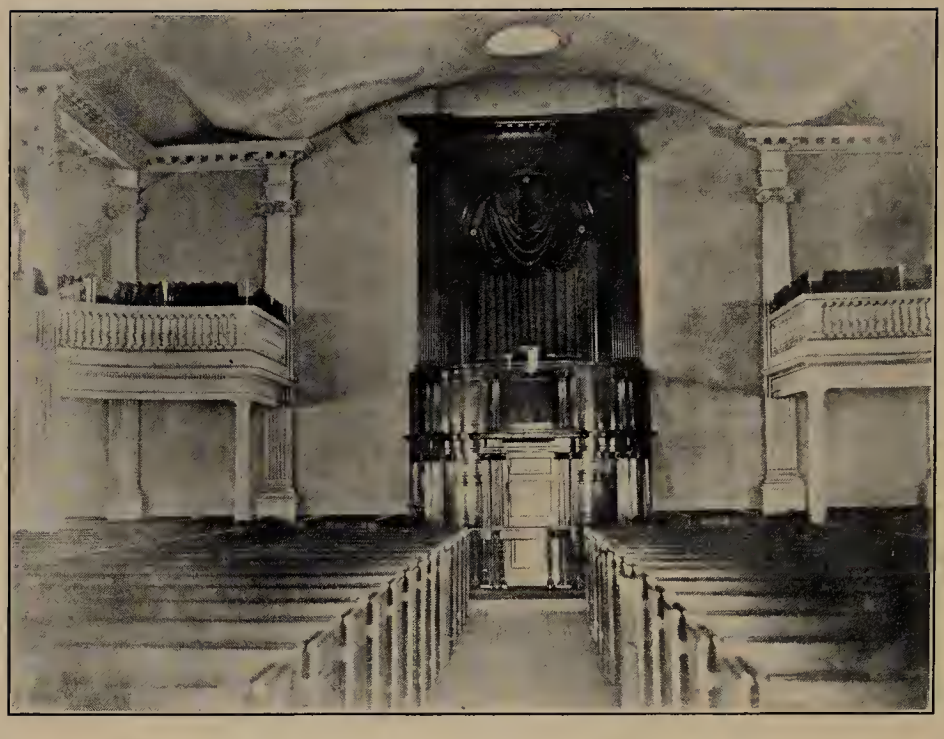
NEW SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON

granite, and to have owed much to its fine masonry. No more beautiful spot could have been chosen for a church than the strip of land between Summer and Bedford Streets, granted by the Town of Boston in 1715 to some petitioners, among them one Samuel Adams, father of the Patriot, and later called 'Church Green.' Here the first meeting-house was built on ground 'high and lofty' with an unobstructed view of the harbor. Later, when Summer Street had become one of the finest residential avenues in Boston, with magnificent overarching trees its entire length, more prosperous conditions demanded a new church.

Bulfinch's plan, an octagon, was based on a square of seventy-six feet, with four sides of forty-seven feet, two of which contained three windows each, and four smaller sides of twenty feet in each of which was a window. The height was thirty-four feet finished with a 'Roman Doric cornice of bold projection.' The porch, projecting sixteen feet, was the extent of one of the sides, forty-seven feet; in front of this was a portico with 'four fluted columns of Grecian Doric,' fluted but otherwise Roman Doric.

The spire is the best Bulfinch ever drew and displays originality in its general design. Some of its motives may have inspired Green for the spire of the church designed by him for the First Congregational Society, Providence, built in 1816, with results well pleasing in line, but with detail treatment somewhat faulty. Green's combination of motives is exceptional, but his proportions are a delight, surpassing those in the New South.

The interior was beautiful — light, rich, well-proportioned. If we examine the picture with the help of Shaw's description of the interior we begin to realize some of the beauty which impelled the architect. 'Inside the house, the ceiling is supported by four Ionic columns connected above their entablature by four arches of moderate eleva-



INTERIOR, NEW SOUTH CHURCH

tion; in the angles, pendants or fans, rising form a circular horizontal ceiling, decorated with a centre flower. Between the arches and walls are groins springing from the cornice, supported by Ionic pilasters between the windows. The galleries rest upon smaller columns, and are finished in front with balustrades.' These smaller columns were fluted with Roman Doric capitals. How well the galleries are worked, with lines running from the intersection of the shorter and longer sides of the building giving a depth of approximately fourteen feet, curving in toward the pulpit!

The Reverend S. G. Bulfinch, son of the architect, in an address before the Boston Society of Architects, a number of years ago, said of this building that 'special attention was paid to speaking and hearing owing to the delicate health of the pastor. With this view, a flat ceiling was introduced instead of the dome which the form of the building would have rendered suitable.' From English authorities Bulfinch had

been led to believe that a flat ceiling was better acoustically than a domical one. The old photograph indicates that the construction followed the design seen in the two small drawings which call for a flat ceiling for the major part with a certain groined treatment at the angles.

The pulpit so well-balanced in line, so beautiful in detail, was built of mahogany and suggests Bulfinch's Lancaster pulpit and Green's Providence pulpit as we shall see later. Lacking the lightness of the other two which it doubtless inspired, it is a beautiful design harmonizing well with the church interior. It is interesting to compare Bulfinch's sketch for the treatment back of the pulpit with the different execution, but no drawing by him for the pulpit has been found. Considering the depression and confusion due to the war, it is surprising that a church so costly should have been undertaken and carried to completion. All through the fall of 1814 the citizens were exerting themselves to the utmost for defence, but in December when the church was dedicated the terror was nearly over.

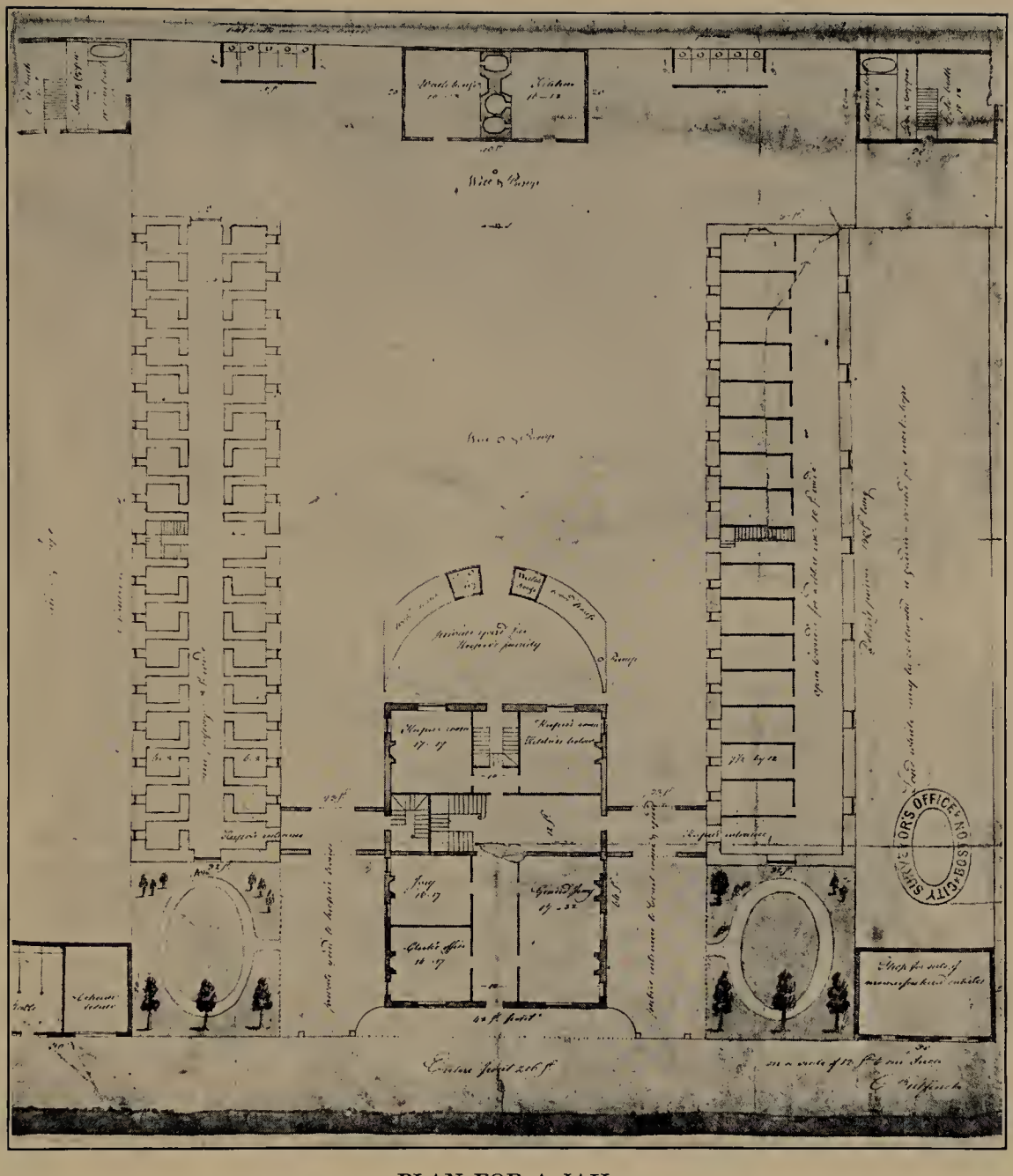
The increasing demand for a House of Industry was considered by a committee, of which Bulfinch was Chairman, that recommended a building to cost about twenty thousand dollars on land west of the Almshouse on Leverett Street, and the town voted the same September 5, 1814. No action was taken following this vote, due doubtless to the preparations for defence which may have postponed indefinitely further action. The final outcome was the purchase, in 1821, of fifty-three acres of land at South Boston and the erection of a three-story stone building two hundred and twenty by forty-three feet and twenty-nine feet high, completed in 1822. While Bulfinch as Chairman made the earlier report when the house was voted to be built in Leverett Street, the plan for the South Boston building was probably drawn by some one else.

The 'jail in Leverett Street,' which Bulfinch records as built after the close of his services to the town in 1817, was probably the County Jail which was begun in 1821. There is a plan in the City Hall, Boston, signed by Bulfinch and undated, which is interesting and may be the one executed; but no record has been found and no illustration of the buildings.

The residences erected after the close of the war, which can be ascribed to Bulfinch, are few with scanty description or illustration. The costly double stone house, of little architectural merit judging from the old photograph, which David Hinckly built on the corner of Beacon and Somerset Streets, carries a Bulfinch tradition, but there is no evidence. Nor is there evidence to connect Bulfinch with the stone house which David Sears erected on the site of the old Copley residence. It had a swell front on lines introduced by Bulfinch and later was much enlarged as we see it to-day, the home of the Somerset Club, Solomon Willard carving the ornamental tablets on the front.

The so-called Blake-Shaw house, really Blake-Tuckerman, which Samuel Parkman built of Chelmsford granite in Bowdoin Square, was finished undoubtedly in 1815 and, by family tradition, was from Bulfinch's design which a study of the old illustration confirms. There also is a Bulfinch plan very close to the lines and details executed, except the lower entrance floor and the balconies above the doors omitted in the sketch. The northerly half of this house was deeded by Parkman to his son-in-law, Edward Tuckerman, Jr., in 1817. The southern half, occupied by Mrs. Blake, came into her possession in 1824 by will of her father, who left to his daughter, Mrs. Shaw, the house occupied by her in Cambridge Street.

Mention should be made of the double house, Beacon and Walnut Streets, which Uriah Cotting built on the site of his ambitious and



PLAN FOR A JAIL

From the original signed drawing

BLAKE-TUCKERMAN HOUSE

costly residence which, completed up to the first story, he was obliged, from altered fortune, to take down. This double house was begun in 1813; the westerly half, now much changed, was first sold by Cotting to Nathaniel P. Russell in February, 1814, and the easterly half became the property of Samuel Appleton, in 1818. The old illustration shows some Bulfinch marks, and while no evidence has been found, it is interesting to compare it with the house on the opposite corner built by John Phillips about 1805, possibly designed by Bulfinch, to which reference has been made.

We are on difficult ground in trying to determine Bulfinch residences of this period owing practically to no evidence and to competitors who not unlikely followed his motives. There is little warrant for ascribing 39 and 40 Beacon Street to Bulfinch, though these houses are very beautiful and interesting and have some Bulfinch tradition. It is doubtful if they were begun before 1818 when Bulfinch was in Washington; but, though the actual design may not have been by Bulfinch, they show his influence. The interiors now richly and ornately finished, more or less changed since 1818, follow Adam motives which are not strongly characteristic of known Bulfinch houses. We may admire the Scripps-Booth house, built probably about 1806 in Bowdoin Square and later incorporated in the Revere House, but we are unable to find in it evidence of Bulfinch's design.

Traditions of Bulfinch residences are found in a number of communities, some of which have been rejected because groundless, others because of lack of any record or of architectural design common to him. Evidence that he designed any house in Salem, Massachusetts, is not conclusive. Doubtless also there are single residences with as much claim to be included as some of those here mentioned. More light will come with the years. But while it should be definitely understood that

to establish individual authorship for the bulk of examples which carry undoubted Bulfinch influence is impossible, there is evidence, some circumstantial, some conclusive, for nearly all the residences here described. The essential thing is to know the main motives of design, the strong sense of proportions, and the handling of good ornamentation, and thus to have an increasing appreciation of what Bulfinch did and of his rich contribution to this class of architecture. Naturally his influence and leadership were recognized and followed in Boston, in Salem by McIntire, and elsewhere, and in that his service lies beyond actual designs made by him; but to attempt to show how wide this influence reached would be futile. Not all of his designs have the same value, while some doubtless were marred by economy or in execution; but his great merit lay in an innate sense of beauty, which ever involves balance and proportion.

The Salem, Massachusetts, Almshouse which next claims our attention, constructed of brick, two hundred feet in length with a middle portion forty feet in extent projecting approximately twenty feet, was ready for occupancy November 30, 1816. It contained hospitals and a chapel, had two connecting rooms on the floor above the basement designed for the Superintendent, with embrasured windows and a low dado, but the building has few architectural features and is interesting only for its generally plain finish. While there have been additions and some interior changes the original building, five stories in front, including the basement, and four in the rear, remains substantially as in 1816.

The story of the edifice for the Church of Christ, Lancaster, Massachusetts, can be told more fully because it survives to-day in all its beauty, cherished by town-folk and admired by visitors. The oldest of the four buildings that face 'the Green,' looking south toward

PORTICO OF LANCASTER CHURCH

the Town House, it dominates the setting with a beauty all its own and with a subtle spirit that falls with the shadows at morn or afternoon.

The corner-stone was laid July 9, 1816; the building was completed within the year, and dedicated Wednesday, January 1, 1817. The sermon was preached by the Reverend Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., the minister of Lancaster, whose descendants to-day constitute a very influential part of the town and congregation. The cost, approximately twenty thousand dollars, was ordered by vote of the town and assessed on the pews. The edifice, without doubt the finest proportioned of all Bulfinch's churches, though with an interior less elaborate and costly than the New South, Boston, was reared almost wholly by artisans of Lancaster — a noble memorial to their skill and integrity — of Lancaster brick in Flemish bond, Lancaster timber, and the celebrated Bolton lime. In size, seventy-four by sixty-seven and a half feet, with a porch or vestibule forty-nine feet in width, projecting nineteen feet, and a portico four inches less on each side in width, and projecting seventeen feet, it stands to-day almost exactly as built, and practically as sound.

The façade and cupola are deserving of long and careful study and bear witness to the influence of Bulfinch's trip abroad. Suggested in the New North, Boston, the result here is wonderfully fine. Especially noteworthy are the colonnaded portico with a charm hinted in the picture, the ornaments in the angles between the tower and attic, the almost perfect proportions of the cupola, surrounded by twelve Roman Ionic columns, supporting a well-balanced entablature, and the suggestion of old Roman construction seen in the lines of the dome. The height of the vane is one hundred and eighteen feet, and the cupola carries a Revere bell, which, recast on account of some defect,

bears the date 1822. The treatment of the entrance doors is simple, all having beaded frames and a one-and-a-half-inch round moulding in the angles of the frames and masonry.

A study of New North (1804), New South (1814), and Lancaster (1816) reveals Bulfinch's great advance. The façade of New North is faulty, its proportions poor, its details not coördinated; the progress in the treatment of portico, porch, and tower in New South is marked; Lancaster is the work of a master. Here is growth, the development of a progressive mind.

LANCASTER CHURCH PORCH

The porch or vestibule has a distinctly New England spirit, with the dignity and plainness of a New England meeting-house fifty years earlier. There are touches of beauty here, but they are few and not what the exterior leads us to expect. Two staircases bend in and meet halfway in a common landing, under which the congregation passes to the middle inner door; a broader staircase ascends to the upper floor, passing from thence to right or left to the galleries, or up a narrow flight of stairs to the belfry.

On passing from the porch into the church we come upon beauty fully worthy of the best of the exterior. The interior which meets the eye, with the exception of the ceiling and wall ornamentation and certain changed details in the north end, is the same substantially as when finished in 1816. In 1881 the Thayer Memorial Chapel was built, connecting with the church, necessitating the cutting of two doors, the closing-up of the arched window back of the pulpit, and the removal of four pews on each side of the pulpit. Two windows each side of the pulpit, on the lines of the lower and upper rows of windows, eight in all, had been closed at an earlier date. In the gallery a few changes were made when the organ was installed. Otherwise the seating is as originally planned.

In 1869, a proposition was made to run a floor on the level of the gallery floors, thus converting the structure into a lower vestry and an upper church. This was in line with what actually happened in so many New England churches, but would have been little short of vandalism. The beautiful pulpit would have been lost, and low-studded utility rooms would have taken the place of the present beautiful interior. To the courageous and vigorous stand of the minister, Dr. George M. Bartol, the church is everlastingly indebted that the plan was abandoned. At that time the interior was redecorated and an organ installed.

There is no picture of the interior of the church prior to the changes made necessary by the erection of the chapel. What Bulfinch would have done with the wall and ceiling treatment, had he been given a free hand, may be imagined from a study of the State House, Boston. Certainly the walls and ceiling in 1816 did not harmonize with the galleries, pulpit, and other details, including the cornice, and the decoration in 1900, while not Bulfinch's, in some degree suggests

what he did elsewhere, notably in the moulding designs, some of which are found in the Massachusetts State House and also in Saint Stephen's Church, Walbrook, London, which Bulfineh admired, and are in keeping with his good taste. The gallery, supported by fluted columns with Roman Doric capitals, with no bases, ten feet eleven inches high and well-proportioned, is enclosed with an open balustrade, so called, and curves in toward the south end. At present there is no way of artificially lighting the church, and the old method of heating it with two stoves is still in use. The pews are made of pine, stained cherry color, and the numbers on the doors, at one time covered, have been restored. Side pews, four feet by eight feet, suggest the old style 'box pews,' while those in the middle of the church, three feet by ten feet, are usually called 'slips.' The windows have inside blinds. The two busts at the south end are of Dr. Thayer (1793–1840), and of Dr. Bartol (1847–1906), and were executed by Bela Pratt.

Of the pulpit, much should be said, or very little, and it should be seen and carefully studied; then the judgment of architects well qualified to pass upon it would be eonfirmed, that no more beautiful pulpit of its type exists in America. Not only is the proportion of width to height well-nigh perfect, but it possesses lightness and grace to a high degree. The only change in this design from the original is the removal of the arched window which was covered with 'a rich green curtain of figured satin and velvet with a ball fringe roping and tossel.' The present curtain is red damask. The pulpit, painted white, stands on a platform four inehes high, with Ionic columns six feet five and a half inches high, with total height from the platform of ten feet eight inches. The panelling and two mahogany doors enclose a twenty-five-inch space which originally contained stairs — the only way of entering the pulpit until the chapel was built in 1881.

INTERIOR OF LANCASTER CHURCH

PULPIT, LANCASTER CHURCH

The pulpit of New South, all so beautiful, suggesting in almost every line the Lancaster pulpit, lacks the latter's almost perfect proportions and that lightness and grace which is the charm of the later design. It is of more than passing interest to compare these two Bulfinch pulpits with that in the First Congregational Church, Providence, designed by John H. Green, a Providence architect, and built in 1816. There is unmistakable evidence that Green drew inspiration from Bulfinch, and in particular from New South, giving to his Providence church a domical ceiling which was the logical treatment for the New South plan, together with much in line and detail that makes the Providence church exceptionally interesting.

It is fitting to conclude the story of this edifice with a reference to the men who executed the design. That Charles Bulfinch was the architect is beyond question, though his name does not appear on the town records. This church is listed by Bulfinch, and he is also credited with its design in a newspaper report at the time of dedication. Why he should have been chosen to design the church is not hard to determine. Almost every man who was chosen by the town to aid in procuring land, to consider plans, or to form the building committee, was or had been a member of the General Court, and so had ample opportunity to see the wonderful Bulfinch State House and its exquisite interior finish. The building committee consisted of Eli Stearns, at the General Court, 1806–10; Jacob Fisher, 1811–13; and William Cleveland, 1813–15. Eli Stearns was a local carpenter and builder, and a first-class workman, as more than one Lancaster residence now standing attests. Jacob Fisher was a cabinet-maker and a progressive business man, and possessed of rare skill with tools. Doubtless his hand carved the pulpit. It is a splendid work in every detail. There is a story of 'Jacob Fisher and the Twelve Apostles'

based on the tradition that Jacob Fisher gave twelve columns for the church. These undoubtedly were the eight columns and the four pilasters under the pulpit, and would thus naturally connect his hand with the pulpit and its carving. William Cleveland, a man of taste and refinement, born in Salem, 1777, and coming to Lancaster in the early part of the nineteenth century, must have seen something of the wonderful work of McIntire, who died 1811, and hence was an ardent inspirer in choosing the Bulfinch design and carrying it to execution.

There is no evidence that Bulfinch was ever in Lancaster, the plan being interpreted by 'Capt. Thomas Hersey, master builder,' as the town record reads. Hersey was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1763 of a long line of Hingham masons and builders, and coming to Boston we find him in 1798 owning and occupying a home in Short Street (near Essex) where he had a carpenter shop. He is called 'housewright' in 1803 and onward, and a 'bricklayer' in 1813, and not unlikely was employed on Bulfinch buildings, though that has not been established. Subsequently he moved to Harvard, after 1813 and certainly before 1816, and was somewhat prominent in the affairs of the town. He died there in 1839, aged seventy-six years. As Harvard adjoins Lancaster, the employment of Hersey on the Lancaster Church was natural, becoming thus the interpreter of Bulfinch's design to the men who executed it, who, knowing the principles of construction and the use of tools, built with integrity and on honor. All high praise to those early artisans who wrought themselves into this enduring monument, as well as to him whose mind conceived its beauty. The church is a unique example not only of Bulfinch's fine achievement, but of the highest development of this style of architecture in America.

Some years after Joseph Barrell's death the Somerville estate was

sold and Bulfinch was engaged to design buildings for the new McLean Hospital, which were ready for occupancy in 1818. Taking the mansion built in 1792 from his design, Bulfinch added another story with a pediment to the middle section, continued the ends up to three stories and built on two wings. Besides this central structure for administration and other purposes, two other buildings, forty by seventy-six feet each, were erected flanking the central one.

McLEAN HOSPITAL, THE REMODELLED BARRELL MANSION

These buildings, enlarged and changed with the years, were demolished in 1896 after the removal of the hospital to Waverley. Besides the exceptionally fine staircase and drawing-room of the old mansion which we have considered, the architectural merit lies in the remodelled north and south fronts and had a charm almost as great as that of the original. Photographs preserved at Waverley show not only the old interior, but the general plan and setting of the group. The Bulfinch characteristics are seen in the remodelling of the mansion, but what he designed for the interior, for which, in connection with his plans for the General Hospital, he made a special visit to the hospitals in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, does not appear.

Two buildings of this period belonging to Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, claim attention by their real merit. Only one was listed by Bulfinch, at first called Bartlett Hall and a little later Bartlett Chapel, a gift of William Bartlett, of Newburyport, to the Trustees of the Academy for use of the Theological School. Begun in 1817 and completed the following year at a cost of $23,374, it con-

PEARSON HALL, ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

tained a chapel at one end and a library at the other with recitation rooms above. The half-sized windows were designed to give light to chapel galleries and the library, and are somewhat unique. In 1878 a tower was added on the west side and interior changes made; and when the Theological School was removed to Cambridge in 1908, the name was changed to Pearson Hall. In 1923 a restoration was made

THIRD BUILDING, PHILLIPS ACADEMY

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, BOSTON, 1818–20

involving the removal of the tower and a change of location by which the building now faces north on the new quadrangle.

The other building, erected in 1818 for the Academy, has clear Bulfinch characteristics, notably its pediment on the slightly projecting middle elevation, and the beautifully proportioned cupola. The exterior is substantially the same as when built, but the interior, due to alterations in 1865 and later, shows no trace of original plan or finish. The cost was $13,252.73, of which $5000 was contributed by Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips.

The dimensions of the ground plans of both these structures are almost the same, Pearson Hall (Bartlett Chapel) being eighty-eight feet, three inches, by forty feet, two inches, and the other is eighty by forty feet. Both buildings with their fine proportions are notable examples of Bulfinch designs. Prized as they are by the Trustees and friends of the Academy, they stand worthy illustrations of the past and an inspiration for the future.

Though the condition of incorporation of the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1811, that $100,000 should be raised within ten years, was met at once by the gift of John McLean of the entire amount with a subsequent bequest of $50,000 divided between Harvard College and the Hospital, it was not till December, 1816, that Bulfinch was sent by the Hospital Board to visit other hospitals and report on their construction and management. His report was well received, and he proceeded at once with plans for McLean, superintending their execution, but no action was taken on the project for the General Hospital till after his removal to Washington. At a meeting of the trustees on January 25, 1818, a committee reported that the plan for a hospital by Mr. Bulfinch deserved the premium; and on February the plan, slightly modified by the committee, was adopted and

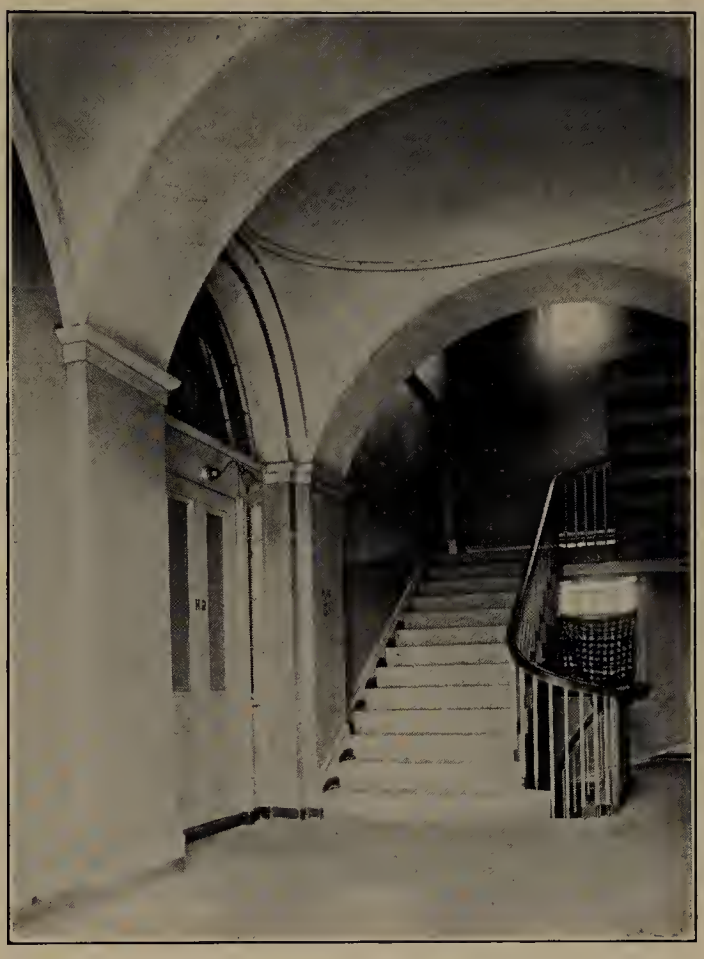
immediate steps were taken to have the stone hammered at the State Prison.

The acceptance of this plan was highly pleasing to Bulfinch, who wrote from Washington on February 1st, 'It was quite beyond my expectation. I confess, however, that it gratified me . . . that my last act for Boston' was accepted 'under circumstances which preclude personal influence.' The corner-stone was laid July 4, 1818, with Masonic ceremony, the committee in October, 1820, reported the centre and easterly sections nearly completed, and on August 21st following Drs. Jackson and Warren were notified that the building would be ready for patients September 1st. This structure, approximately thirty-five by one hundred and fifty feet, was located in the 'West End' and thus became the nucleus of that immense equipment which to-day, with splendid tradition and spiritual devotion, makes possible the service to suffering thousands.

LOWER CORRIDOR STAIRS, MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL

The original plans have not been found, but doubtless the commit-

tee's modification was slight. It is interesting to compare the original building of Chelmsford granite and almost faultless construction with one of Thomas's 'Original Designs in Architecture,' published in London in 1783. A copy of this book, for which it would seem he paid $10, had influence on Bulfinch and contains a number of striking motives in common with some used by him. His treatment of the entablature of the porch, though classically defective, is simpler and better than the design by Thomas both in proportion and ornamentation. The additions to the original wings, made a few years after the erection of the building, must be eliminated in the estimate of the lines which otherwise are unchanged. The architectural defects lie in the treatment of the middle section above the roof, due doubtless to the practical demands for chimneys, and in the low dome almost concealed. A better handling of the design for the dome is found in the Maine State House a decade later.



A SECOND-FLOOR CORRIDOR, MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL

Though most of the rooms show considerable change, the entrance corridors and staircases are substantially as originally constructed and

exceptionally interesting. In the basement are found the old red tiles, seven and one half inches square, which are repeated on the third floor, and groined elliptical ceilings in the basement and in the halls above. The solid granite stairs, set in the walls with little evidence of being out of line, rise from the basement to the second floor carrying iron balusters and wood rails, but, while the construction is the same as in University Hall, the lines are more beautiful. The floors are granite, the blocks varying from twenty-two to twenty-six inches in width, and are four and one half feet in length. The upper stairs are of wood and lead to the old operating-room where, in 1846, ether was first used in a surgical operation of magnitude by Dr. John C. Warren.

There are interesting details in the building, old doors with wrought-iron hinges, semi-elliptical windows over the second-floor hall doors, simple mouldings on doors and windows; but the great charm lies in the exterior lines and in the entrance corridors. The total impression is of a good design exceptionally well executed. From 'this last act for Boston,' we turn to Bulfinch's career at the National Capitol.

CHAPTER X

THE NATIONAL CAPITOL AND A FEW DESIGNS

DURING the nearly twelve and a half years in Washington, which Bulfinch called the happiest of his life, the citizen was overshadowed by the architect. Engaged on a work that deeply absorbed and interested him, he moved in the best society; yet of the growing National life, the people he met, the ideas exchanged, there is scarce a hint, and the home and personal life emerges from the shadow no more than in Boston. His was not the mind of Jeremy Belknap, and in that respect is to be keenly regretted. It is evident that he was happy, made friends, welcomed friends and guests, especially from New England, carried on his professional work with increasing satisfaction to the Administration and Congress, winning the confidence and respect of his associates: moreover, all the time as a loyal and true citizen; but we get no intimate or personal touch. A few letters, very few, and containing almost nothing of National or professional import, a few reports, no diary, no account written in the leisurely after years — such, in brief, is all we have of this important period which began the first of January, 1818, and ended June 3, 1830.

The circumstances leading to his removal to Washington are best described in Bulfinch's own words which conclude his brief life sketch. Strangely, this sketch cannot be found among the family papers today, and the narration is copied from 'Life and Letters':

'At the close of the war a project was started for building two hospitals, one for insane subjects, and the other with the title of the "General Hospital," and by the influence of my brother Coolidge I

was sent by the board of agents to view the hospitals of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, to observe their construction and to get a knowledge of the detail of their expenses and management. This commission was accepted by me willingly, as a proof of the continued confidence of the most respectable members of our community. I proceeded to execute it, and made reports of my proceedings on my return that I believe were quite satisfactory.

'When at Baltimore, being so near Washington city, I determined to visit it, and passed three days there. I was much gratified by my view of the situation, and in seeing Congress in session, and left the city without any expectation of visiting it again, but it was so ordered that this visit led to the most important consequences. I was introduced by one of our Senators, Mr. Lloyd, to Mr. Monroe, President elect; he received me kindly, expressed his approval of the objects of my journey and afterwards directed Col. Lane, Commissioner of the Public Buildings, to conduct me over the ruins of the Capitol. This was on January 7, 1817; on the following July, Mr. Monroe visited Boston, as President of the United States; a large Committee was appointed by the Town to receive him, and I as Chairman of the Selectmen and Committee read to him the address of the Town before a large concourse of people assembled in the floor of their Exchange Coffee house. My duty as Chairman led me to be almost constantly in company with the President during his visit of about a week, after which I proceeded in my usual course, making drawings and directing workmen at the Insane hospital in Charlestown.

'About November following, I received a letter from William Lee, Esq., one of the Auditors at Washington, and in the confidence of the President, stating the probability of the removal of Mr. Latrobe, the architect of the Capitol, and proposing that I should apply for the

place. I declined making any application that might lead to Mr. Latrobe's removal; but before the end of the year, disagreements between him and the Commissioner became so serious that he determined to resign, and his resignation was immediately accepted. On receiving information of this, in another letter from Mr. Lee, I made regular application through J. Q. A., Secretary of State, and by return of post received notice from him of my appointment, with a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars and expenses paid of removal of family and furniture.' This salary was continued during the entire period of his service, though in September, 1822, an attempt was made to reduce it to two thousand dollars, which failed on the simple merits of the question submitted by Bulfinch.

Evidently on receipt of the letter from John Quincy Adams dated Washington, December 4, 1817, Bulfinch departed from Boston, not before December 22d, when he was present at the meeting of the Selectmen, and by December 24th, when the Board records his resignation, arriving in Washington on or before January 6th. His first letter, written to his wife under date of January 7th, describes his interview with the President: 'We have been admitted to-day to an interview with the President: after passing up a noble stairway through a suite of elegant rooms, we found him seated alone in a most splendid apartment, covered with a rich blue paper, with broad gold borders, and gold flowers at suitable intervals. My reception was honourable and perfectly satisfactory, it was even cordial; the President expressed himself gratified at my acceptance of the office, and hoped advantage would arise from it to myself as well as to the government. He entered fully on the subject of the Public Buildings, and without mentioning the particular causes of offence with the late architect, clearly evinced that he was not satisfied with his conduct or

plans while he gave him credit for professional skill. The President said that immediately on a vacancy occurring, his attention had been turned to me, and that the offer would have been made if I had not applied; he promised me his support, and invited me to frequent calls and personal application to him.'

Later in the day, accompanied by the chief surveyor, he went over the Capitol building inspecting the work in progress; and the next day, January 8th, he took possession of his office in the Capitol, which was furnished with tables, desks, drawing-materials, etc., where from ten to three o'clock he kept office hours. He visited the workshops and found about one hundred and twenty men employed principally in cutting and finishing the great marble columns, and a number of sculptors, some at work on a figure of Liberty twelve feet high to be raised over the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives. In the same letter he writes:

'I have received from Col. Lane a great number of drawings, exhibiting the work already done, and other parts proposed, but not decided on. At the first view of these drawings, my courage almost failed me — they are beautifully executed, and the design is in the boldest stile — after longer study I feel better satisfied and more confidence in meeting public expectation. There are certainly faults enough in Latrobe's designs to justify the opposition to him. His stile is calculated for display in the greater parts, but I think his staircases in general are crowded, and not easy of access, and the passages intricate and dark. Indeed, the whole interior, except the two great rooms, has a sombre appearance. I feel the responsibility resting on me, and should have no resolution to proceed if the work was not so far commenced as to make it necessary to follow the plans already prepared for the wings; as to the centre building, a general con-

formity to the other parts must be maintained. I shall not have credit for invention, but must be content to follow in a prescribed path.'

Of the first Sunday in Washington Bulfinch writes in the letter quoted:

'We have this day attended service in the Congress hall; it was respectably filled with many of the members, and a number of the inhabitants of the vicinity, among whom were many genteel and well dressed females. The service was the Episcopal form of afternoon prayer, singing without any instrumental music, and for want of books, two lines at a time of the psalm read off by the chaplain, to guide the congregation: an excellent sermon on the "foolishness of preaching" closed the duties of the day, which were conducted with great propriety and serious effect. After service I was recognized by several gentlemen from your quarter, and we paid a visit, at their lodgings, to some others.'

In spite of the limitations found in this and other religious services, the inconvenient distances and bad walking, in the straggling community, the first impression of Washington on Bulfinch was favorable. He liked the climate and the views, found congenial friends, a democratic society, good markets; and his spirit responded to the life there taking shape. The following Monday, Bulfinch met Dr. Thornton, then head of the Patent Office, whose design for the Capitol had been accepted in 1793. He thought the Doctor a 'singular character' and 'very decided in finding fault with Latrobe for changes he has introduced.'

The interesting story of the National Capitol concerns us here only so far as it helps us to understand Bulfinch's part in it. Those desiring a more complete account should consult the outstanding work of Glenn Brown, 'The History of the United States Capitol' (1900),

replete with evidence and illustrations collected during a decade of research, indebtedness to which is hereby acknowledged.

Three men — William Thornton, Benjamin H. Latrobe, and Charles Bulfinch — were the architects. What Bulfinch did involves an understanding that the general design of Thornton, who was not a professional architect, was followed, with certain changes, to the completion of the building. Latrobe, who had been trained professionally, took charge in 1803, making some changes in the design and a large number of necessary detail plans. Bulfinch's work, obvious and less original as he saw from the outset, was to complete the wings partially restored by Latrobe after the destruction by the British troops in 1814, and to construct the central portion for the most part from plans made by Latrobe, making such changes as were necessary. The bulk of the interior plans, however defective according to Bulfinch's first judgment, must be executed; and while he did offer suggestions with respect to both fronts and the dome, the only essential exterior changes made by him were in modifying the design for the west central front and the dome. He also increased the size of the halls while decreasing the light wells.

But though he did modify Latrobe's design for the west front, which had been substituted for that of Thornton, with its semi-circular portico, he seems to have accepted Latrobe's plan to make the east front the main approach, contrary to Thornton's project to make the western the more imposing, overlooking the river and the city across the broad expanse toward the President's House. The accomplishment of these two objects would have given him higher rank, but circumstances made this impossible. It seems obvious also that he could not remedy the faulty arrangement of the staircases complained of on his first inspection of the building.

That he gave consideration to these questions and made suggestions has been known, but anything so drastic as the omission of the rotunda and the dome has not been understood heretofore. Such, however, seems to have been the fact, judging from letters of John Trumbull to Bulfinch, but how definitely this is to be interpreted is not clear after reading the correspondence involved in the question. It appears that on January 19th, within two weeks after his arrival, he wrote to John Trumbull, then in New York, describing his perplexity incident to the diversity of opinions with respect to the Capitol and seeking artistic advice from his friend. This letter according to Trumbull was destroyed in a New York fire of 1836, but Trumbull's reply in two letters, both bearing the date of January 28th, sets forth the essential points under consideration. In the first letter he wrote to Bulfinch, 'If you adopt a staircase similar to the city hall here, it will be imperfect without a dome light.' In the second letter, written at much length, describing the three plans he had thought wise to make and send in order that his ideas might be clear to Bulfinch, he continued, 'I feel the deepest regret at the idea of abandoning the great circular room and dome. I have never seen paintings so advantageously placed in respect to light and space, as I think mine would be, in the proposed circular room, illuminated from above.'

It should be recalled that Congress in 1817 authorized Trumbull to paint four historical scenes at a cost of eight thousand dollars each, to be placed in the rotunda. It is natural that Trumbull should have clung to the idea of the rotunda, urging upon Bulfinch that it was involved in the earliest project for the Capitol and as drawn by Thornton; and likewise rejecting Bulfinch's suggestion of a saloon for the gallery of paintings because paintings therein hung would not be well lighted.

Bulfinch's letter of April 17th, which Trumbull thought had been destroyed with that of January 19th, but which recently has come to light, adds important information never before published. Excusing his delay in replying by saying, 'I have been ever since in such a state of uncertainty respecting the temper of Congress and the plans that would be adopted,' he goes on to relate that he had 'prepared drawings of the centre building with the rotunda, one with the floor entire, another with a circular opening in the floor of forty feet diameter forming a spacious gallery twenty-five feet wide all around, supported by a circular colonnade, and another plan according to your idea.' The Committee of Congress to whom these plans were submitted insisted upon sufficient committee rooms, and, 'moreover, that if these rooms could not be had in any other way, the rotunda should be cut up for that purpose. These threats put me upon my exertion, and I have contrived to make thirty committee rooms under a court room,' etc. 'I obtain these rooms in part by sinking the centre one story — it projects seventy feet from the wings, and, as the ground falls rapidly, this advantage may be easily gained, a glacis of turf on each side will fall to this level in face of the wings. . . . I intend that this basement story, which will be eighteen feet high, shall be plain, of square blocks of granite prepared in Boston, with rusticated windows — the color of this stone white, rather with a bluish tint, will keep the line of the yellow freestone above unbroken.'

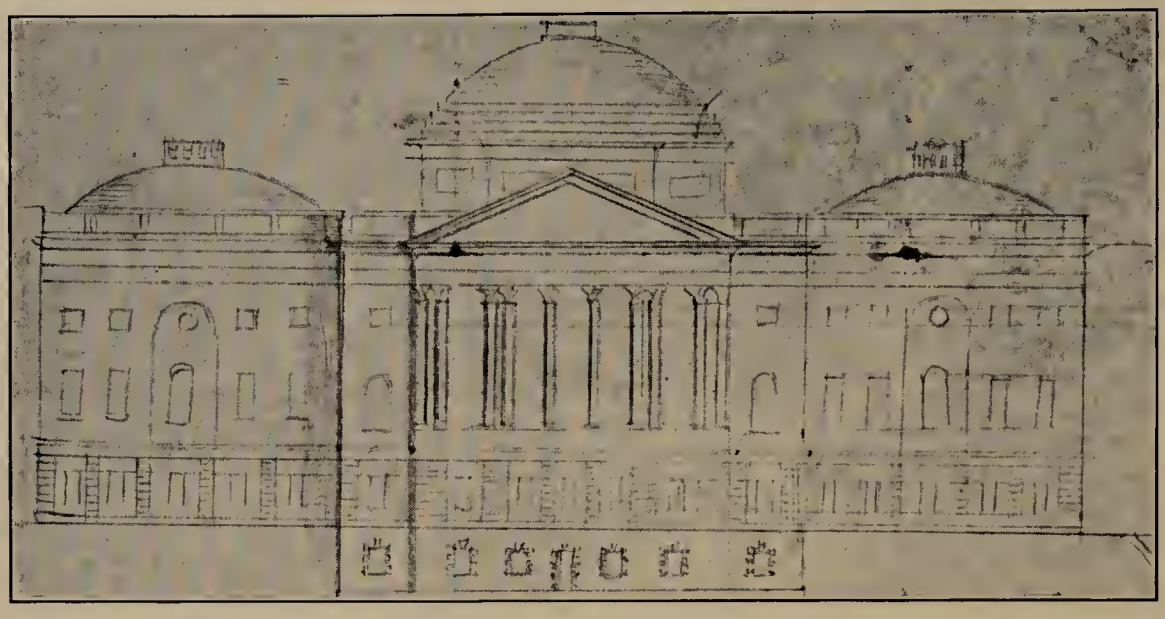
In this letter he describes the model of the Capitol in wood, made by 'an ingenious young man from Boston' whom he found in Baltimore. This model was 'four feet in length, and in correct proportions — it exhibits the different façades that have been prepared by Dr. Thornton and Mr. Latrobe, just a section of the rotunda and dome, and exhibits the different stories of the centre projection. I find that it

has been of material service — it has been seen by the President, and I believe nearly all the members of Congress, it conveys a correct notion of the design at a glance, and I believe has been satisfactory in convincing them that I understand what I am engaged in. This is certain, that one hundred thousand dollars are appropriated for commencing the centre this season. I intend to lay the foundation and build the walls of the basement.' This 'young man' was Solomon Willard, then about thirty-five years old, who accomplished his task in about three weeks' time.

'I am almost afraid to ask your opinion of this basement, because it was a measure of necessity and cannot be dispensed with, but if you can recollect any precedent that will warrant it, I will thank you to inform me even if I lose by it all claim to originality. I know of several respectable buildings, particularly . . . in England, which have one story more on one front than on the other, but do not recall any, where this story is not continued for the whole length.'

A pencilled sketch at the close of the letter exhibits a pediment above the entablature, the one essential difference from the drawing herein reproduced of the west front. This motive is similar to one which appears in one of Latrobe's drawings, but was not executed. It is interesting to see Bulfinch's reluctance to introduce the basement, particularly when we recall the somewhat similar change to the Massachusetts State House at variance to the original design and construction.

We note that this letter makes no mention of any suggestion to abandon the rotunda, but only of the possibility of using it for committee rooms, doubtless never seriously considered. In his reply of July 25th, Trumbull expressed his satisfaction that 'your plan has saved the grand room. It appears to me that you have extricated



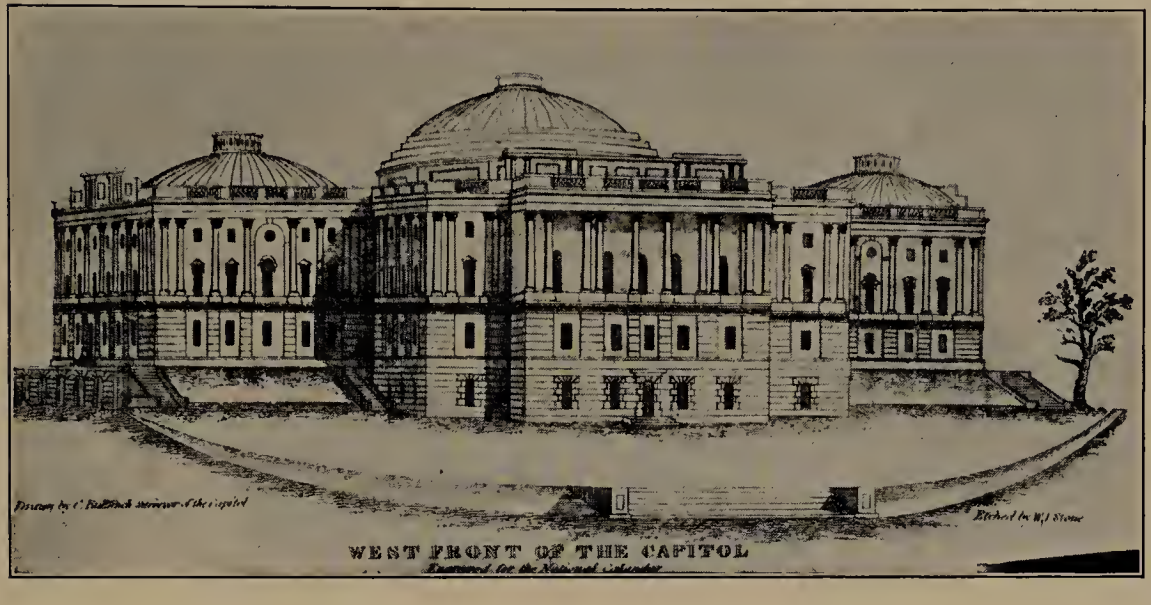
PENCIL DRAWING OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON FROM A LETTER OF CHARLES BULFINCH

yourself happily from the multitude of contradictory projects.' It is interesting to have this evidence of the friendship of these two men, which may be held to bear on the design for the Connecticut State House, since Trumbull speaks of an acquaintance extending over thirty years.

The work on the wings progressed rapidly; in November, 1818, Bulfinch reports them well advanced, and in December of the year following, Congress held its first session in the new Hall of Representatives. The interior of the wings, dominated by Latrobe and showing the originality of his detail designs, particularly in the columns and mantels, offered little scope for the expression of Bulfinch's artistic spirit.

On April 20, 1818, Congress made the first appropriation for the central part of the Capitol in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, and work went forward at once, so much so that Bulfinch in November reported considerable progress: and on December 9, 1822, he stated that the exterior was nearly completed. A number of old

engravings, woodcuts, and lithographs give a fairly good idea of the Capitol when first completed, the earliest being a drawing of the west front by Bulfinch and published as an engraving in 1821, and another engraving of the east front, possibly drawn by Bulfinch, published in 1823. Both of these engravings appeared in the 'National Calendar.'



BULFINCH DRAWING, PUBLISHED 1821

There are two other Bulfinch drawings of the east front, one published as an engraving in 1826 and herein reproduced, and the other appearing in an engraving in 'The Jackson Wreath' (Philadelphia, 1829). The essential difference in the three engravings of the east front is the lower dome in the one published in 1823.

The total cost of the central part of the Capitol, constructed entirely under Bulfinch's supervision, was $957,647.36, which compares well with the total of $1,743,725.34 for the entire structure (exclusive of the amount expended for rebuilding after their partial destruction).

In considering these sums with relation to the magnitude of the work, we should understand that the highest daily wage paid, which was during the years 1815–18, was $1.88 to carpenters, $2.25 to brick-

layers, and $2.75 to stonecutters. During the years 1819–22 the wage to none of these workmen exceeded $1.75.

From the report of 1822 we learn 'that about two thirds of the interior dome is built of stone and brick and the summit of wood'; and that 'the whole is covered with a wooden dome of more lofty elevation, serving as a roof.' The general understanding has been that Bulfinch was responsible for increasing the height of this dome over that suggested by Latrobe; indeed, Mr. Brown held that opinion as stated in his history. But this understanding does not accord with the facts, nor did the design selected from his drawings have the approval of his taste and judgment.

The increase in height of the central dome was the cause of much criticism by Latrobe and shared by his son, who in 1842 wrote a letter, not altogether in the best spirit or manner, to the Secretary of the National Institute. This letter was read at a meeting of the society when the Reverend Stephen Greenleaf Bulfinch, a member, was present, who, resenting the unfairness of the criticism, forthwith gave to the members his version of the whole matter pertaining to the design for the dome, writing to his father full particulars. On receipt of the Secretary's letter, Latrobe's son, in a different temper, called on Bulfinch's son and made full apology. To this incident we are indebted for an account probably not otherwise forthcoming. To Greenleaf, Bulfinch wrote:

Boston, *March* 7, 1842

I thank you for the strong interest expressed in your letter of the 14 Feb'/, on the subject of Mr. Latrobe's remarks on the Dome of the Capitol, as they might affect my professional reputation.

From your sensibility on the subject, you may judge of the strong

BULFINCH DRAWING, PUBLISHED 1826

desire which Mr. L.'s sons may feel, to exonerate their father from any mistakes that may have been made on that building. It was a great public work, designed and executed by various architects in succession, and with long interruptions, that it is rather surprising that it presents so harmonious a whole.

Your statement in my defence was so correct, that it appeared to me hardly necessary to add anything more. Your second letter, containing the *amende honorable* of Mr. L. strengthens my resolution to let the matter rest.

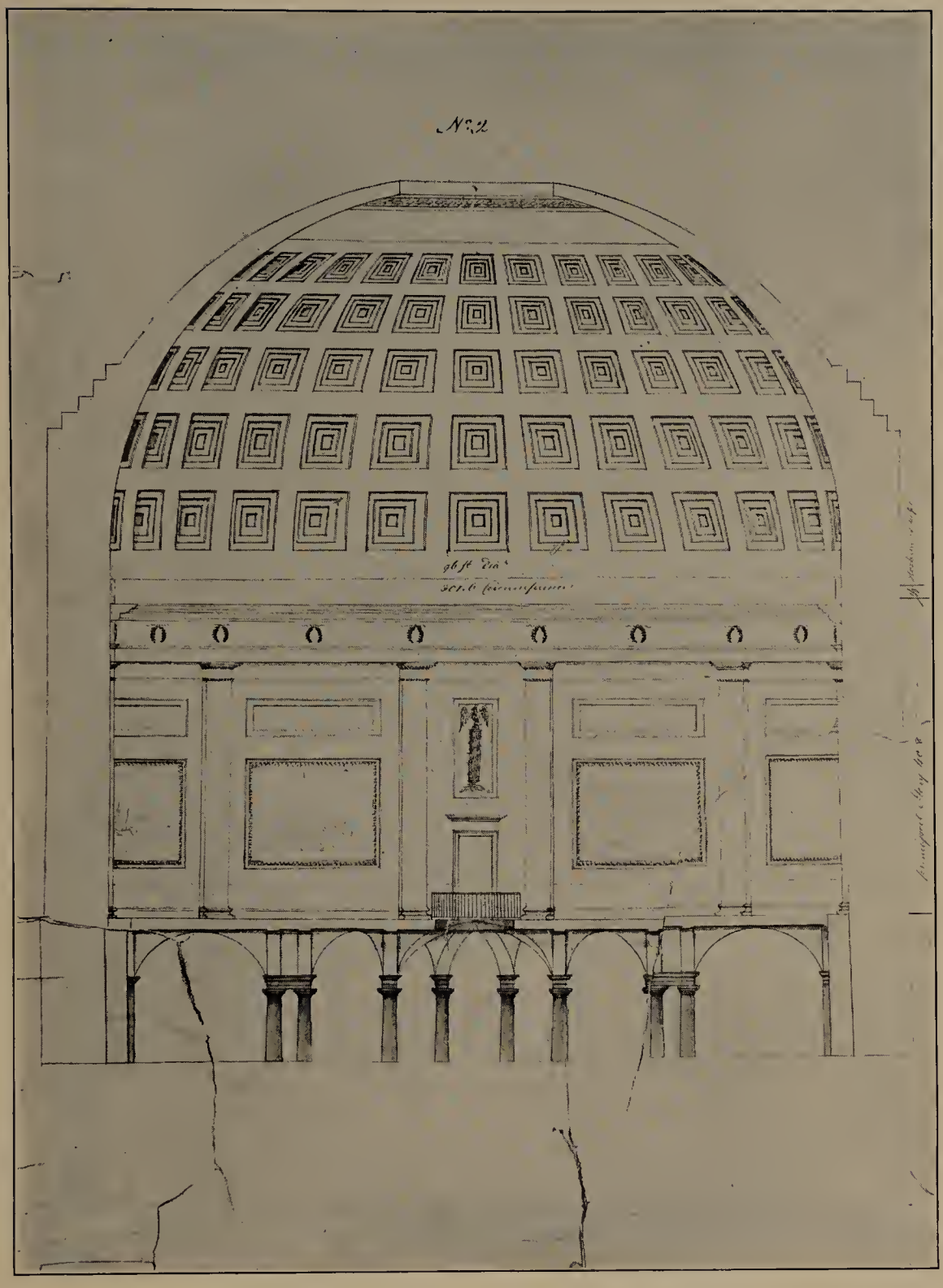
It was my intention, on receiving your first letter, to write a memoir upon the plan and construction of the Capitol to be presented to your society, but I felt that it would be a very tame performance unless accompanied by critical remarks which could hardly fail to give offence to some of the friends of Dr. Thornton, the original designer; of Mr. Hatfield, who was recommended from England as architect by Benjamin West and Colonel Trumbull, and was shortly superseded by Mr. Latrobe — and especially if, in justice to myself, I related the alterations which I thought necessary to be made in that gentleman's plans, especially in the interior — and, indeed, if I attempted to throw the ponderosity of the dome upon the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe, what could I expect but a retort from J. Q. A. — from which may all good powers defend me; and so I gave up the intention, and will now give you a short history of the dome, to be confined to yourself, and such as in sober judgment you may think proper to show it to.

Upon my taking charge of the Capitol, I found a number of drawings of the manner in which it was intended to finish it, but it was very difficult to give the Building Committee any clear ideas upon the subject, and absolutely impossible to convey the same to the more numerous body of the members of Congress. I accordingly proposed to

have a model made to show the building in its complete state. This was made and inspected by the President and all the members of Congress, and I believe had a favorable effect in convincing them that I understood what work I had to do, and that there was some prospect of the building being finished. But there was one universal remark, that the dome was too low, perhaps from a vague idea that there was something bold and picturesque in a lofty dome. As the work proceeded, I prepared drawings for domes of different elevations, and, by way of comparison, one of a greater height than the one I should have preferred: they were laid before the Cabinet, and the loftiest one selected, and even a wish expressed that it might be raised higher in a Gothic form, but this was too inconsistent with the style of the building to be at all thought of by me.

Upon the ribs of the dome being boarded, I was so far dissatisfied as to propose to reduce it, stating that the saving in copper would meet all the expense; but our Commissioner was not a very compliant gentleman and rested upon the Cabinet decision, and, to avoid the altercation which had been so common formerly, I yielded the point. But I should be well pleased if, when the dome requires a thorough repair, which it may in ten or fifteen years, it should be reduced in height — not to Mr. Latrobe's design, but about halfway between that and the present elevation. The foregoing will give my sons a full view of the circumstances under which some of my work was executed; but you will readily see that it is best not to make it too public. Architects expect criticism and must learn to bear it patiently. . . .

This clears up the question of the dome and discloses Bulfinch's taste in the matter which we see was for a lower dome than the one executed. This is interesting when the dome is compared with that



DESIGN FOR ROTUNDA, CAPITOL, WASHINGTON

From original drawing

on the Massachusetts State House, but Bulfinch was not free to adopt the latter type of dome for the building he was charged with exccuting. The height of the dome was one hundred and forty-five feet from the ground, and the total length of the Capitol three hundred and fifty-one feet, four inches.

Besides what has been set forth above, little of the interior of the central part of the Capitol can be attributed definitely to Bulfinch. The final outcome of the first three months of perplexity was to settle down upon the general plans already selected. Both the court room and the library were in Latrobe's plans, and most of the finish had been determined. The only illustration found bearing on the interior is a drawing of the rotunda, now a part of the Bulfinch collection in the Architectural Library of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This should be compared with the rotunda as finished in 1824, with a diameter of ninety-six feet.

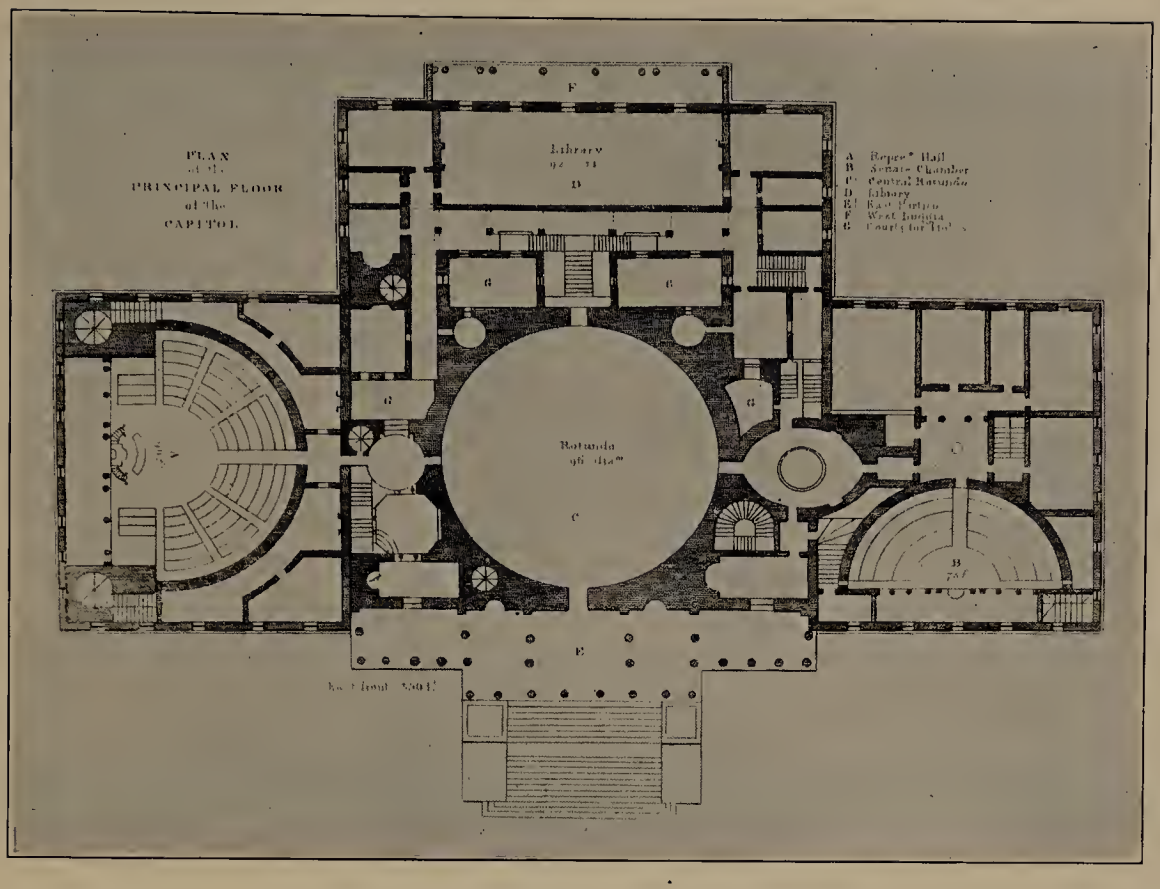
One important recommendation made by Trumbull, that the rotunda be closed and kept free from dampness, was rejected, and in spite of his remonstrances his four pictures were hung there in 1824. But such was their condition in 1828 that Congress ordered their repair and the rotunda made free from dampness under Trumbull's supervision. The dampness was due in large measure to the opening in the floor designed to give light to the proposed crypt for the body of George Washington, which subsequently was abandoned. This opening is mentioned in Bulfinch's letter of April 17, 1818, to Trumbull, and it was closed under the latter's direction.

But, though there was little scope for original design, Bulfinch was well qualified by the work of the preceding years for his important position. Few mcn could have been found so well fitted in artistic appreciation and practical judgment. He knew what was good and

how to make the most of a difficult situation. Though not a dominantly forceful man, he was a gentleman with a certain degree of mastery both of artistic design and of principles of construction who could enter sympathetically into questions of practical execution. Under him the work progressed steadily, and, with increasing harmony among his associates, it gained in efficiency.

Self-trained as he was, he was not untrained in structural principles. A case in point is found in his report of May 1, 1818, on the accident to the arch which was intended by Latrobe to carry the cupola over the 'flat dome' in the north wing. With reference to this, Mr. Brown, in his 'History of the United States Capitol,' relates that General Swift and Colonel Bomford, engineers, who had been in consultation, 'agreed with Bulfinch that the arch would not bear any additional weight, and approved of his method of using a brick cone as a foundation for a cupola'; adding that, 'although Latrobe thought the changes in the Senate made the arch necessary, Bulfinch seems to have contrived a simpler method.' Latrobe attributed the failure of the arch to improper haunches or lack of loading, and to the error in not putting any hoop around the circular opening, which he had done uniformly in similar cases. He justifies the use of iron by quoting its use in the dome of Saint Paul's and elsewhere. We have nothing by which to judge Bulfinch's attitude on this method in dome construction as exemplified in nearly all Renaissance domes, except the incident just related; but his mind here seems to have had recourse to fundamental principles rather than to makeshifts. His experience in this line of work was limited, and there is nothing to indicate that anything other than wood was considered for the construction of the actual dome over the rotunda.

After the year 1826, or possibly a little earlier, Bulfinch was em-



FLOOR PLAN, UNITED STATES CAPITOL

ployed for the most part on the landscape work and designs for the steps and fence at the west. Here he had freer scope for his artistic spirit, and though we can judge what he accomplished only from old illustrations, we know that the results were worthy of praise. His treatment of the western approach was original, intended to give the best setting to the Capitol, not well placed. The work must have been well advanced at the beginning of 1828, as we find Mrs. Bulfinch writing to her son Greenleaf on January 14th, 'We went to the Capitol where we admired the high finish of the rotunda, and the western steps and the circular terrace. . . . On the top is a fine walk and it is as a whole much commended by strangers.' Again, on December 20th of that year she writes, 'Your father is well and quite satisfied with the manner his year's work is spoken of by

members of Congress.' The work by this time was nearly or quite complete.

The 'circular terrace' involved the original and more imposing approach from the west as planned by Thornton. This is shown in a drawing by Bulfinch dating not later than January, 1821, which also gives a fairly good idea of the completed west front except the dome,

WEST STEPS, CAPITOL, WASHINGTON

which was higher. Some suggestion of the beauty of the grounds with the two gate-houses and the iron fence at the foot of the hill, the walks and the steps ascending to the first or circular terrace, is found in a number of paintings by W. H. Bartlett, an English artist, published in London in 1839 and in the United States the following year, one of which is reproduced here. The merit for this artistic creation be-

longs to Bulfinch. In the terrace was the Tripoli Naval Monument, later removed to Annapolis.

We have but a blurred idea of the routine of these years. Bulfinch's work was not hard, and, though beset with difficulties, evidently it was pleasant and interesting. Some estimates were necessary and a few short reports were made; beyond that his main task, especially after the first year, was to interpret and direct.

The spirit which dominated him under many limitations that tested at once his artistic nature and his professional powers, his tact in dealing with the Commissioner and those in authority or of influence, and his sane balance in the whole situation are evidenced to us almost wholly in the precious letter to his son Greenleaf, given above. Valuable, indeed, would have been that proposed memoir, of which he speaks, abandoned at the thought of critical remarks and possible offence it might cause. Keenly we regret that the importance of this personal testimony did not outweigh the natural tendency of his character. The building of the Capitol lay in the past. Why raise again the many questions with their personal angles of taste and judgment? Alas, that something like this feeling prevailed!

There stands the monument to these three men who gave to it according to their several abilities. It is not a perfect whole; there were errors of taste and structural principles. That the finished whole as it was when completed is better for what Bulfinch could and did accomplish is beyond dispute. Only in our speculative moods do we wonder what he would have done with a free hand in 1793, or in 1803, had he been chosen then instead of Latrobe.

Before the arrival of the family, Bulfinch writes on March 16th of attending 'Mr. Monroe's drawing room last Wednesday evening';

'we met a good deal of splendor and gaiety, but I find it rather dull business, although the close of the evening was enlivened by some songs sung by a circle of ladies with their beaux, accompanying a piano. You know I am not very sentimental, but you will suppose I had some pleasant feelings when the last song was sung, "See from Ocean rising." I confess it reminded me of home, although the scene around differed very materially from that of the humble parlour in Tremont Street. I hope we shall soon have another home and renew our domestic occupations and enjoyments together.'

This hope was soon realized in a house with gardens on Capitol Hill, but of this and the later homes very little is known except that in the last years the family resided on Sixth Street. There were family connections in Washington, and Bulfinch, by virtue of his position and personality, gained friends. Once, at least, they were invited by the President and Mrs. Monroe to dinner; and throughout the years New England friends were ever welcome; among whom, in the winter of 1826–27, was Harriet Vaughn, of Hallowell, Maine, daughter of Mrs. Bulfinch's sister and Charles Vaughn, a girl of rare attractions who later married Jacob Abbott and became the mother of Lyman Abbott, for so many years honored preacher and editor.

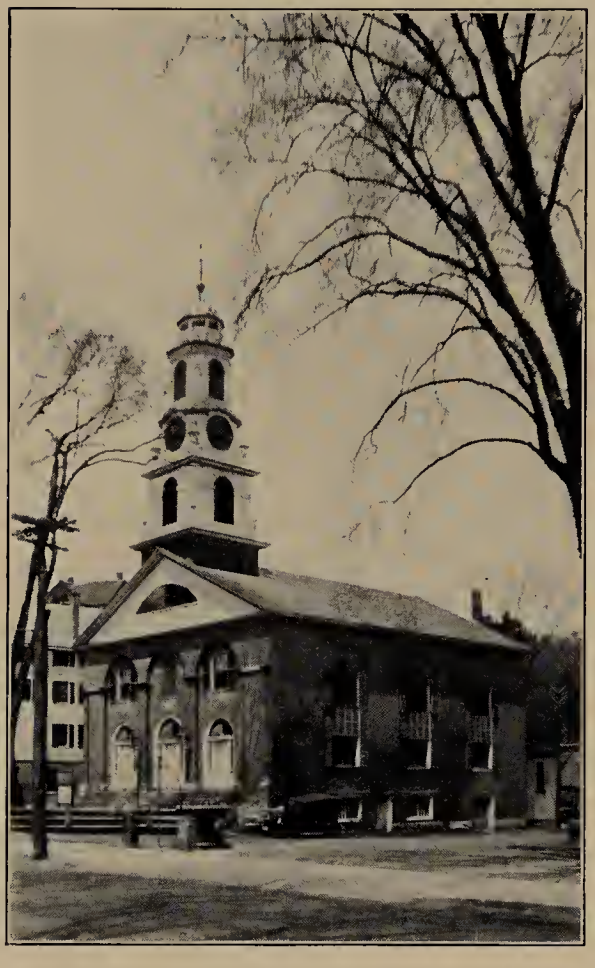
From the beginning Bulfinch was interested in the projected Unitarian Church in Washington and devoted much time to promoting the undertaking as well as designing the first building, which was dedicated June 9, 1822. Hampered by every consideration of economy the question of design was exceedingly difficult. Our knowledge of the structure is confined almost entirely to the little book of plans, the most complete of the extant plans by Bulfinch, now in the Architectural Library of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and to an old photograph of the exterior taken before the church was

UNITARIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, 1822

demolished in 1900, the Government having taken possession in 1880. The design, marked 3, was executed with some little detail changes and the building constructed of brick and plastered. The floor plan specifies fifty by seventy-two feet, with a porch only slightly less in width than the main house and a projecting tower around which is built a portico with a pediment in the Doric order. The tower treatment is not common, and is interesting; also the well-proportioned cupola in which the first bell in the city, for public purposes, was dedi-

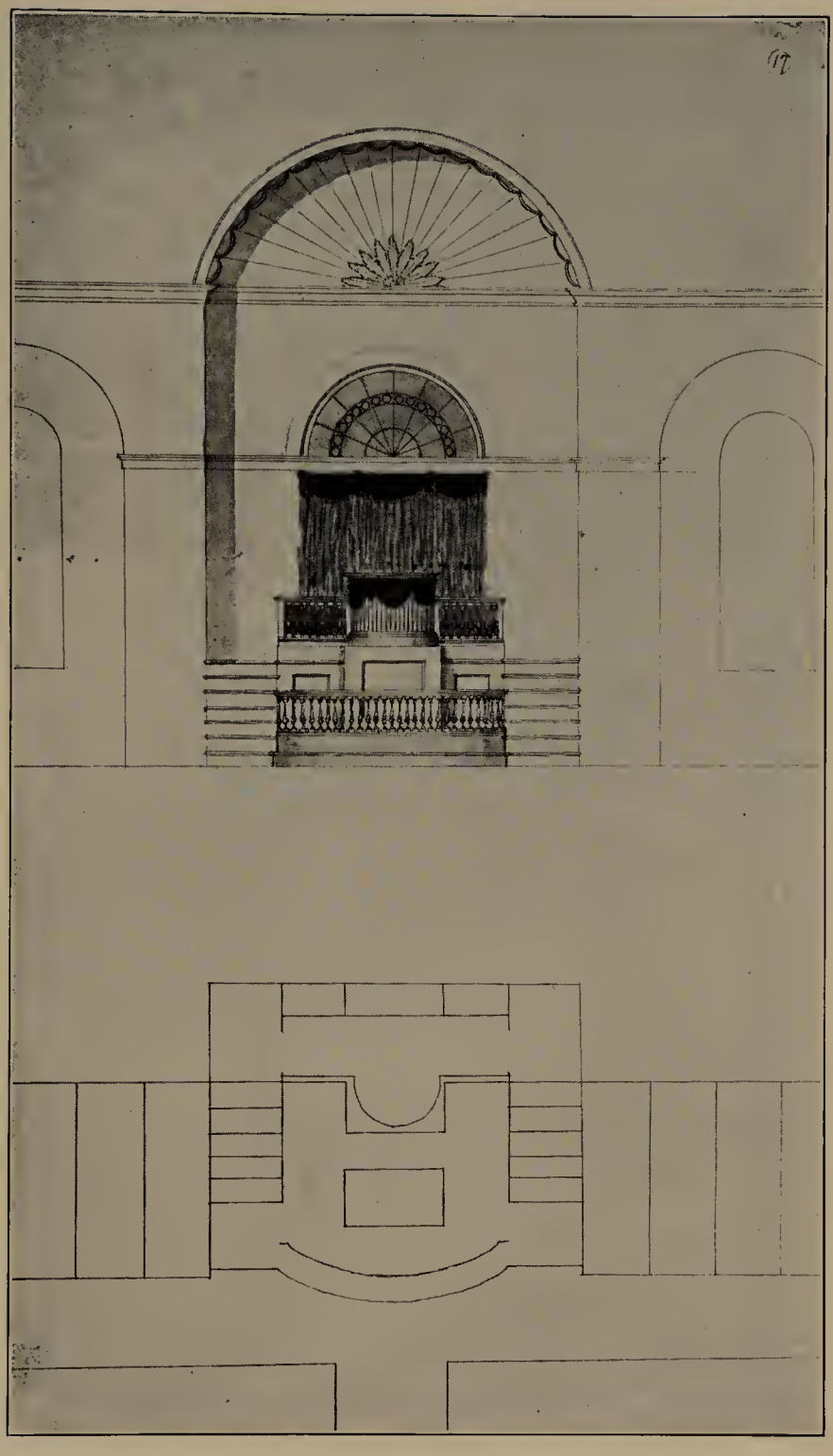
cated on October 12th. The buttresses seen in the photograph are not shown on the design for the side elevation. It is interesting to find the same tower and portico treatment on churches at Newark, New Jersey, in Savannah and Augusta, Georgia, and at New Haven, Connecticut, all built prior to 1820, though the New Haven design was due to an architect of New York origin.

There is no record or photograph of the interior, and we are obliged to assume that the church was finished as nearly as possible according to the designs in the collection. The pulpit end is plain in conformity to economic necessity, and not of great interest. The pulpit, unlike others by Bulfinch, is suggestive of the drum-like type of the 'Dutch Reformed' Churches in New York State in Queen Anne's time, while the decorative treatment back of it follows in simpler form that in some of Bulfinch's churches. This church Bulfinch attended during the remainder of his residence in Washington, and for a time later his son Stephen Greenleaf was the minister.



CHURCH, PETERBORO, N.H., 1825

There is a strong tradition amounting to conviction that the church in Peterboro, New Hampshire, built in 1825, was erected from Bulfinch's plans. Hearing that Bulfinch had a plan which had been rejected by another church, a



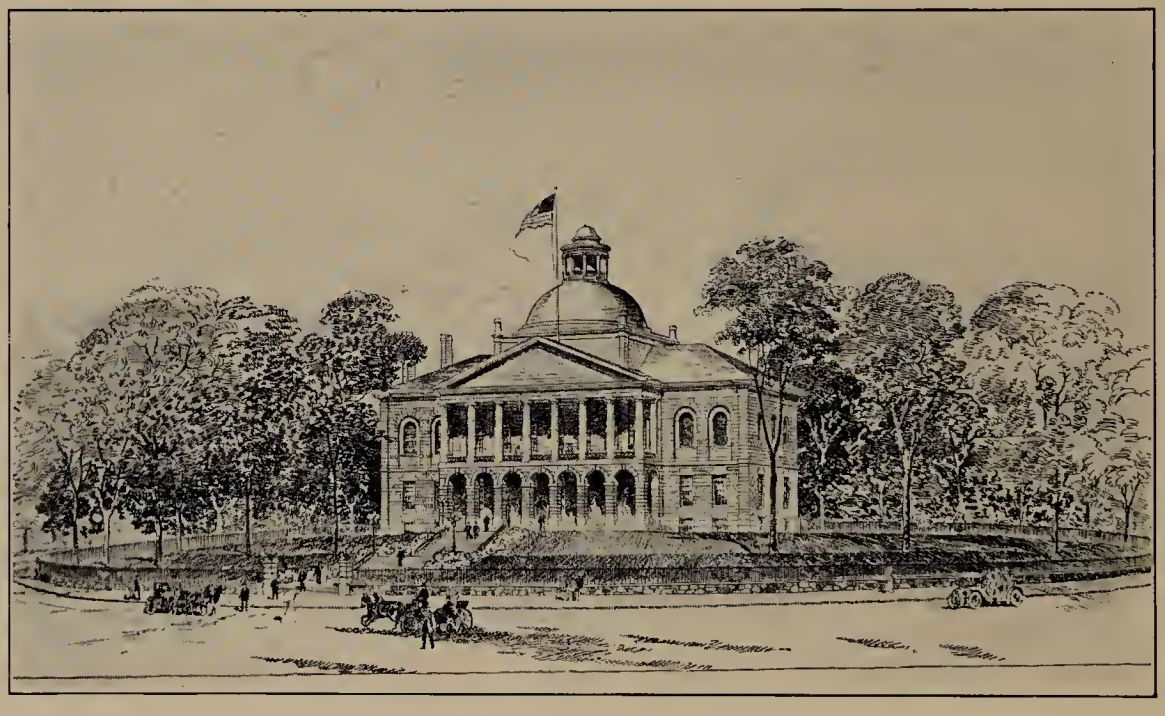
PLAN FOR PULPIT, UNITARIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON

From original drawing

committee was sent to Boston and purchased it. This story is vouched for by Judge Jonathan Smith, to whom it was told by his father who was a member of the committee and twenty-two years old when the church was begun. It is, of eourse, possible that Bulfinch had such a plan which he left with some agent when he removed from Boston; but there is no record of any kind and the church is not included in Bulfinch's list. The story is given here with some illustration of the building now standing because the structure is interesting, displaying one Bulfinch motive at least, that of the arched recesses in the walls for windows and doors. If this church was executed fairly close to a design by Bulfinch, it is in marked contrast with the Lancaster church which by another tradition, but with no evidence, had rejected the plan later used at Peterboro. The porch at Peterboro, ten feet deep, extends the full width of the building, the tower set upon the roof receiving its main support from the outer wall and the wall separating the porch from the audience room. This inner wall, which is ten inches thick, is carried only to the gallery floor, the tower weight at the ceiling level being carried by two fluted columns with simple moulded capitals. This same arrangement is found in the Old North Church, Hingham, Massachusetts.

INTERIOR, PETERBORO CHURCH

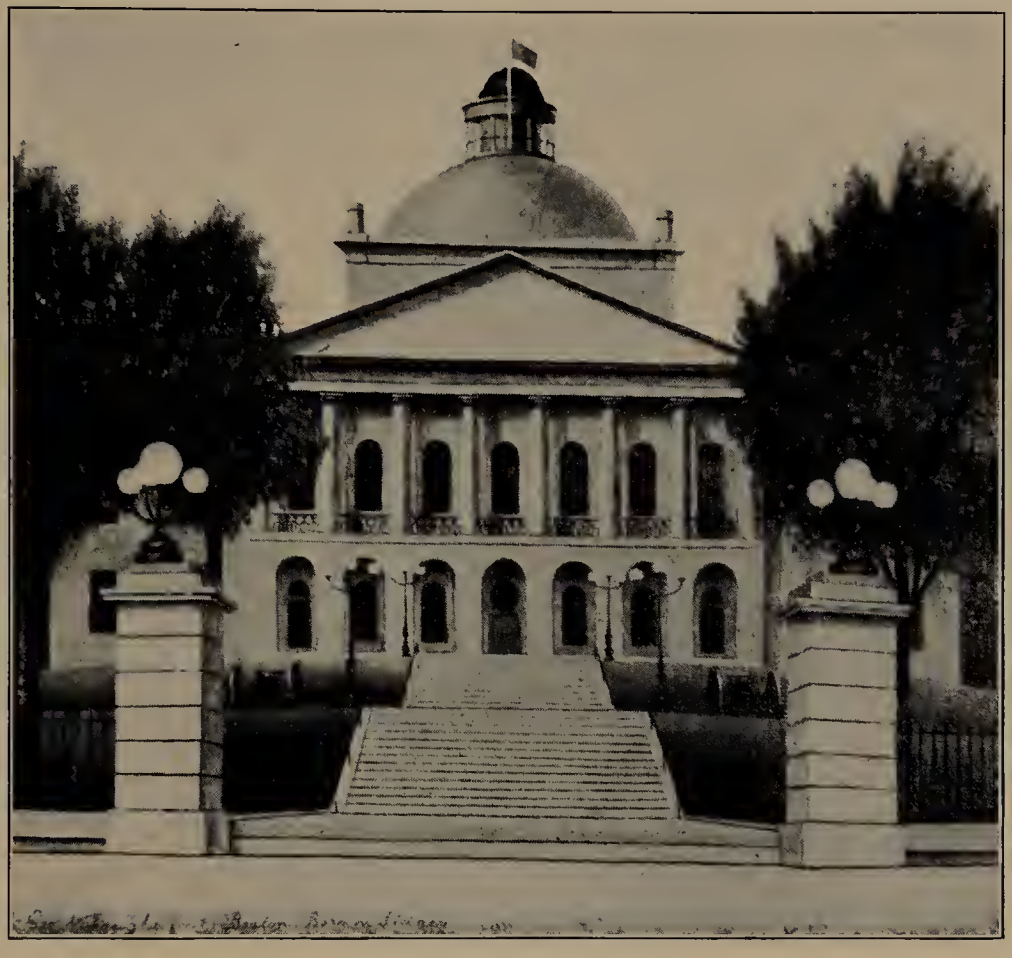
The outer walls, of brick twelve inches thick, show evidence of strain in the middle of the porch end, but otherwise are in excellent condition. The interior is approximately fifty-one by fifty-five feet with delicately wrought gallery balustrade curving in toward the present organ end. The old pulpit end has been utterly and inharmoniously altered; only the lectern column suggests the old pulpit it is reputed to have supported. On the whole, the church is a fine example of a closing period. Built at the very beginning of the so-called classic revival which soon became plain decadence, it remains to testify to a finer taste and to that integrity of workmanship which makes such buildings so full of interest and delight.



MAINE STATE CAPITOL, 1829–31

Another building, the design of which belongs to the Washington period, is the Maine State House at Augusta, the corner-stone of which was laid, with full Masonic ceremony, July 4, 1829. This structure is listed by Bulfinch and we have a plan for the dome

marked, 'This was executed.' Strange to relate, this, together with some old pictures of the building occupied January 4, 1832, constitutes almost the whole story. When the building was remodelled and enlarged in 1909–10 only the Bulfinch front was preserved, the

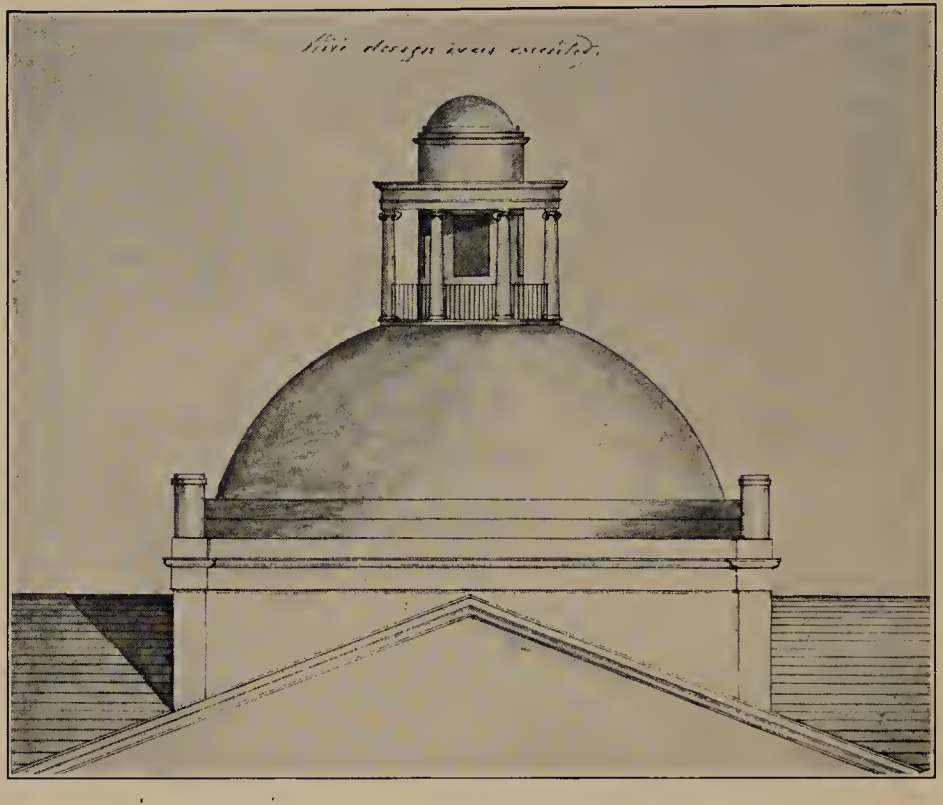


MAINE STATE HOUSE

present lofty dome replacing the original one; and there was not enough interest in the interior, twice previously remodelled, to move any one to photograph it.

Augusta was fixed upon in 1827 as the future capital of Maine, which had become a State in 1820, and in 1828 Bulfinch was asked to furnish a design which the Council adopted February 2, 1829, stating that the design by Bulfinch represented the Boston State House re-

duced in size. The building, constructed of Hallowell granite, was to be one hundred and fifty by fifty feet, though it measures one hundred and forty-six feet and has a plainer colonnaded portico than at Boston, eighty feet in extent and projecting fifteen feet, carrying a pediment. The cost, estimated not to exceed $80,000, totalled, with furnishings and work on the grounds, $139,000. The lines of the



DOME OF STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, MAINE
From original drawing

Massachusetts General Hospital dome were followed, though with a cupola constructed over the lantern. It may be noted that the proportion of portico to entire length of building, sometimes criticized at Boston, is repeated at Augusta, the Boston portico being ninety-six to one hundred and seventy-two feet, the total length of building. Though the criticism may be well-founded, Bulfinch had English models and designs usually considered good.

The church at Quincy, Massachusetts, known as the 'Stone Temple,' dedicated November 12, 1828, is sometimes erroneously attributed to Bulfinch; but it was designed by Alexander Parris, who also designed Saint Paul's Church, Boston.

Record of Bulfinch's work for the Government other than that on the Capitol is contained in a clause of an Act of Congress approved March 2, 1831, which reads, 'For compensation to Charles Bulfinch, late architect of the Capitol, for his extra services in planning and superintending the building of the penitentiary at Washington, the jail in Alexandria, the additional buildings for the post-office and patent office, and for allowance for returning with his family to Boston, eleven hundred dollars.' As the allowance for moving from Boston to Washington was five hundred dollars, the compensation for professional services could not have exceeded six hundred dollars.

We have only scant information of one of these buildings, that listed by Bulfinch as a 'penitentiary prison,' and probably constituting the major part of the work. Erected under an Act of Congress May 20, 1826, at the foot of 4½ Street at a cost of forty thousand dollars, it is described as a long structure of brick with two wings, one occupied as a warden's house and the other as a hospital. That it was constructed under the direction of the Commissioner of Public Works may have caused delay in granting the extra compensation to which manifestly Bulfinch was entitled. No adequate illustration of this structure has been found: but it has been said that, when McKim designed the War College erected on the site, he based his architectural motives on those he found there, though it does not appear that he knew the author was Bulfinch, whose work he greatly admired.

Naturally, we should expect to find other marks of Bulfinch's influence on Washington architecture, especially of residences, but no record has been found. The only mention by Bulfinch is of the Unitarian Church and the penitentiary. His memorial to Congress under date of January 24, 1830, is of interest, not only upon the acoustic problem of Representatives Hall, but as showing the careful study he had given to the problem for a period of ten years. The faultiness of the design, which, as we have seen, was not due to Bulfinch, was recognized as soon as the Hall was occupied. Bulfinch applied himself to remedy the defect, recommending some form of flat ceiling, which also was the suggestion of William Strickland, an architect and engineer called in consultation. In 1829, Bulfinch prepared drawings which, with two drawings made later, were submitted with the memorial. Under the circumstances and conditions no solution could be satisfactory, but the matter furnishes evidence of Bulfinch's essentially scientific habit of mind.

Though an Act of Congress, May 2, 1828, abolished the office of Architect of the Capitol, Bulfinch continued to serve till June 30th of the following year, and in some capacity not fully determined for a portion of the ensuing year. In his letter to President Jackson, June 27, 1829, following a communication from the Commissioner of Public Buildings, informing him that by direction of the President the office of Architect of the Capitol would terminate June 30th, Bulfinch wrote, 'There are several portions of the work in hand, and one of particular weight and massiveness, which require the superintendence of an architect.' His request to be allowed to continue in his office for another quarter, during which time he could attend to work at the Navy Hospital at Norfolk, seems to have had the President's approval. We find him writing in August that the commission to Nor-

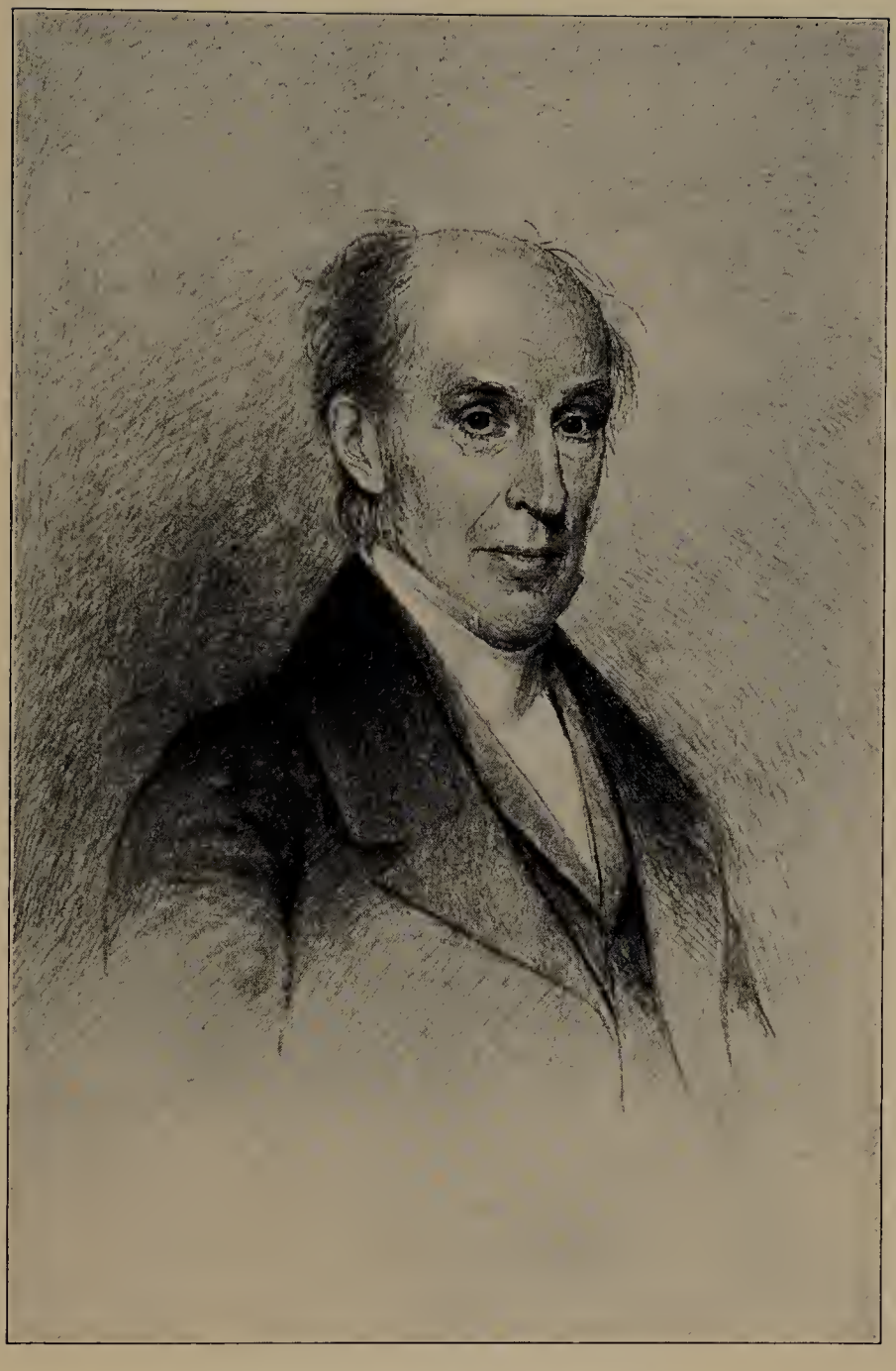
folk had been executed, but no clear record has been found after that till his letter of June 3, 1830, in which he says, 'I date from this place for the last time,' adding, Washington has been 'our pleasant and respectable home for twelve years and where we leave memorials . . . which we hope will long endure.'

CHAPTER XI

LAST YEARS

THERE is little more to be told. The few facts found in the family letters, including what is published in the 'Life and Letters' are quickly related. On their return from Washington, Mr. and Mrs. Bulfinch took lodgings in Bumstead Place, Boston, which at that time they found delightful with ample garden space. With summers generally spent elsewhere, this was their home till 1839. Within a few weeks they went to Hallowell, Maine, to visit the Vaughns — Charles, who was connected with Bulfinch in the Franklin Place venture, and his wife, Mrs. Bulfinch's sister. Here they remained till August, Bulfinch doubtless inspecting the work on the new State House at Augusta, only a few miles away, though there is no record of the fact nor of any connection with the work other than the design.

Bulfinch seemed anxious to take up professional work, but nothing came to him and he settled gracefully into a serene old age. What he did in the leisurely years cannot be determined beyond the very short autobiographical sketch, hints of reading and study, but no more letters than in the active years. The Storers — George, and Bulfinch's sister — who had shared their home with the Bulfinches after the Franklin Place disaster, boarded at Bumstead Place and had much in common with them in the same old delightful way, sharing in their interests and pleasures and on Sunday occupying the same pew in King's Chapel. 'We have kept ourselves quietly at home during the winter,' writes Bulfinch in March, 1831; and a little later Mrs. Bulfinch writes: 'We in our advanced age [they were then in their sixty-eighth and sixty-fourth years, respectively] are receiving from each



CHARLES BULFINCH ABOUT 1842

From a drawing by Alvan Clark

other's society the best enjoyments of which we are permitted to partake — the united prayer, the confidential converse, the quiet readings, or the peaceful walks along our pleasant Common. I often think we are far more dependent upon each other now than in early life.'

In September, 1838, Mr. and Mrs. Bulfinch went to Washington, where they spent the winter very delightfully and were well received, Bulfinch giving some attention to repairs on the Unitarian Church; but though he wrote to his son Thomas in October commenting on various public buildings, there is no word on the Capitol which to see again must have given satisfaction. Doubtless there were memories of those past pleasant years, of work well done, of associations that enriched. In 1843, he wrote to a niece: 'I love Washington, I passed there twelve of the happiest years of my life in pursuits congenial to my taste, and where my labors were well received. When walking through the Capitol and its grounds, you may well conceive the pleasure I felt at perceiving its progress from year to year.'

During these later years the family letters continued, a large number of which are published in the 'Life and Letters,' but there is almost nothing in them relating to the architect or the citizen. After the death of his wife, Bulfinch wrote more, of himself, his reading and his ideas; so that these last years reveal more of the man than all the other years combined. But only imagination can picture the life in summer or in Bumstead Place up to 1839, when in October Mr. and Mrs. Bulfinch were invited by their nieces, daughters of Bulfinch's sister and Joseph Coolidge, to make their home with them in Bulfinch's old birthplace in Bowdoin Square.

This home is described in the 'Life and Letters' as 'a three-story house of wood, a little withdrawn from the street, with a row of five

Lombardy poplars in front, and a gate which opened on a white marble walk leading to the front door. We know its summer parlor with white panelling and French furniture, and its winter parlor or sitting-room with an arched recess on either side the fireplace. Through one of these, towards Chardon Street, a passage leads to the dining-room. The entry extends through the house, and the eastern door opens into a paved courtyard. In summer the open doors are sheltered by green blinds, and the rooms are scented after a shower by the sweet honeysuckle outside. Here on the roof of the stable is the great square pigeon-house, well known to the children.

'We have a description of each room in the building, the many bedchambers with their solid old furniture, the small library on the second floor, and the tall clock on the landing of the upper staircase. The two kitchens, even, are remembered in all their details, and we see the equipment required for cooking at their open fires, where in the chimneys were still the crane, the pothooks and trammels, and the iron wheel of the smoke-jack. Here, too, was the large screen lined with tin to protect the workers from the heat. From the paved yard a few steps in a grassy bank led down beneath an arched gateway to the garden. Here was the great horse-chestnut tree brought from abroad by one of the Apthorps, and at the end of the main walk a summer-house with the large pear-tree near it of family tradition, and other fruit-trees, and trellised grapevines, with all the variety of flowers that had given the architect's mother so much delight.'

The charm of this home wings its way across the years, and we rejoice that the couple could come back to its sunshine and cheer to continue their life together amid congenial surroundings, made more comfortable and easy in mind by two substantial legacies received from English relatives. Here, in 1841, at the age of seventy-four,

BOWDOIN SQUARE IN 1822, AS DRAWN FOR THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

Bulfinch's birthplace is the first house on the right

Mrs. Bulfinch passed away all so quietly one night after one of the pleasant family gatherings. A woman of rare virtue, steadfast in faith, a mighty stay amid all the varied fortunes that came to her and her husband, of whom it may be truly said, 'Her children rise up, and call her blessèd; her husband also, and he praiseth her.'

The remaining years passed, consoled by friendly sympathy and a deep faith; interested and commenting on the affairs of the day — whether of the building of railroads, the New England boundary question, or the increasing radicalism in religion in the utterances of Theodore Parker. For the most part reading absorbed Bulfinch, and he writes of Combe's 'Travels in America,' 'very judicious and impartial,' and of Hallam's 'Literary History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,' 'a work of wonderful research and highly instructive and entertaining.' There was much of the scholar in Bulfinch; 'you and I love a little Latin,' he wrote one of his nieces in 1843, and his interest in French evidently continued till the end.

There is real charm in the few letters of the last years with their description of lectures, commenting at length on Greenough's statue of Washington (which did not please him), noting events around him and in the world beyond — alive, mentally alert and growing, with interest keen and sane. His life lay within the shadow with no bitterness or remorse, in quietness and fineness of soul. To the last he was constructive, tolerant, humble, believing the best of life and humanity, open-minded to the truth, holding firm to a simple faith in life — now and forever.

In all those last fourteen years Bulfinch made no design, performed no act of public service, yet his mind was dynamic, engaged with the forces and principles that had moved the past and were to move the future. His bodily vigor declined, impairing his physical activity, but

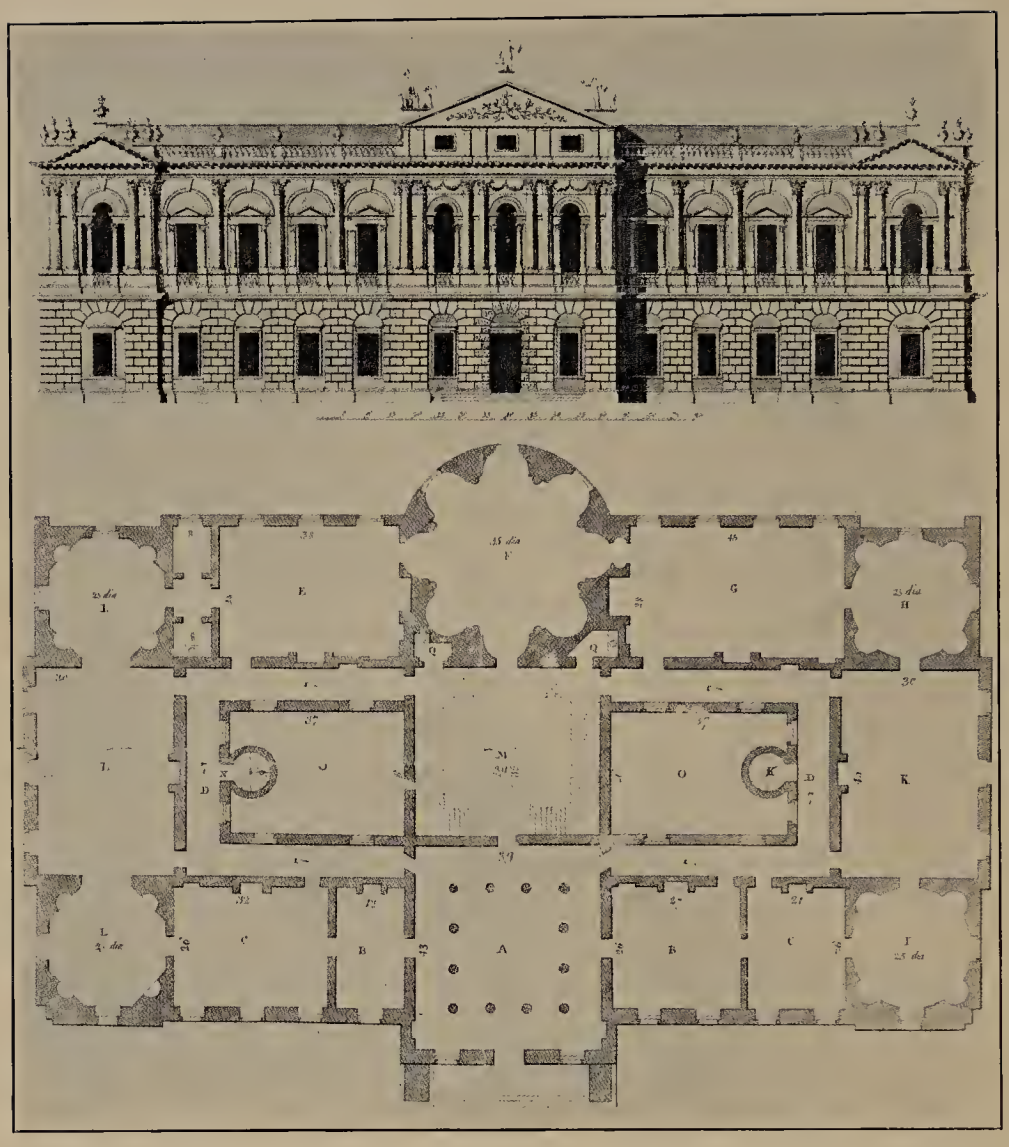


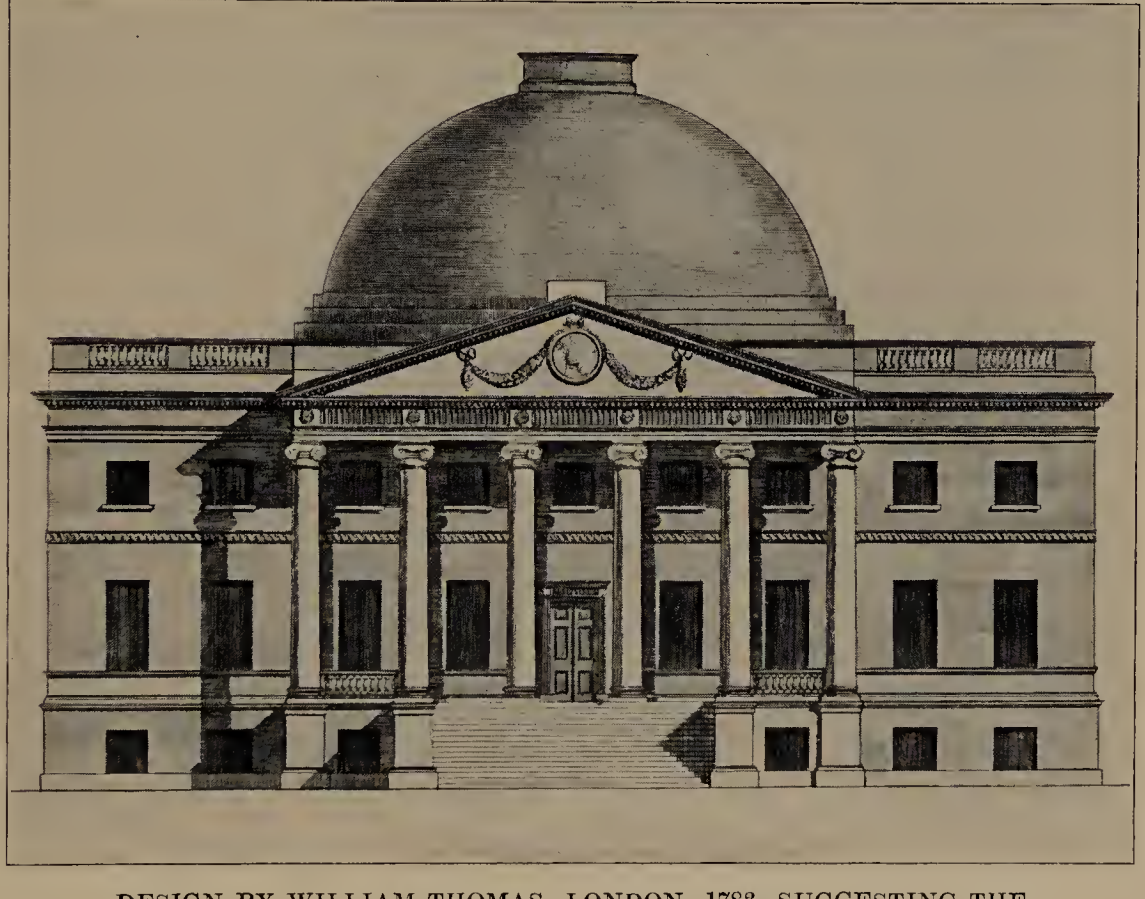
PLATE IN CRUNDEN'S BOOK OWNED AND USED BY BULFINCH

the man moved on. To the end he was architect and citizen in a world and life that those virtues glorify. On April 15, 1844, as the old family clock on the staircase in the house where he was born struck twelve, his spirit was released, and on the 17th the funeral services were held in King's Chapel.

So passed the first born American architect as well as a gentleman of the old school. What he achieved is due entirely to an artistic spirit and to years of patient work. We may only conjecture what most

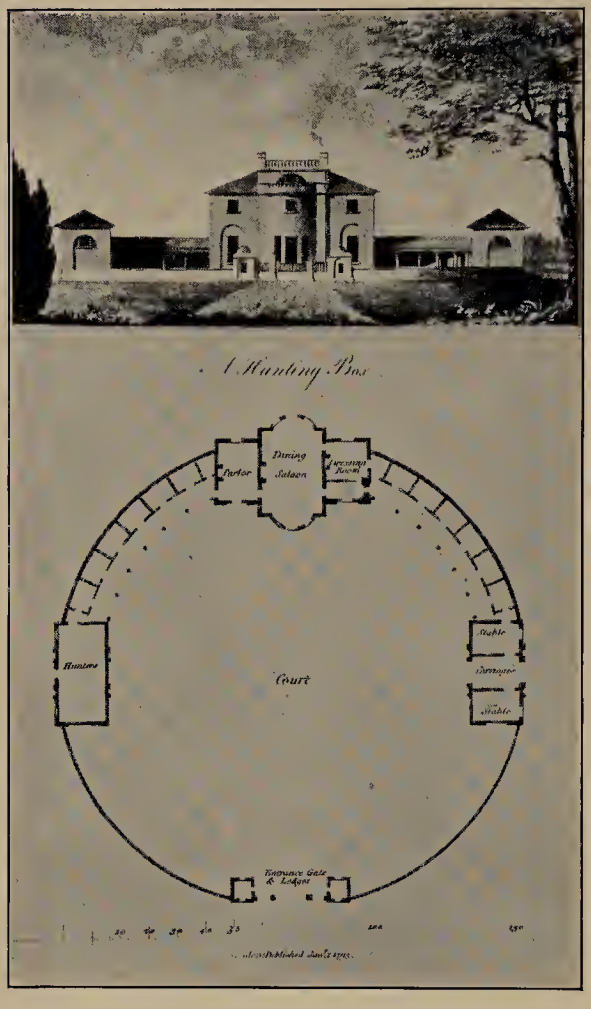
interested him in Europe, though that influence, especially in England, was great; and no review of the books he used will disclose the method of his designs.

The books in his possession were the best of his time, suggesting the student grounding himself as far as possible in the art which impelled him, foremost of which was the 1785 edition of Crunden's 'Original Designs' (London, 1767), containing some much-handled plates which suggest motives in the Massachusetts State House; and William Thomas's 'Original Designs in Architecture' (London, 1783), which had much influence upon Bulfinch, particularly noticeable in the design for the Massachusetts General Hospital. To these may be added Sir J. Soane's 'Designs in Architecture' (London, 1778), show-



DESIGN BY WILLIAM THOMAS, LONDON, 1783, SUGGESTING THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL

ing various country seats; a book of Palladio's (Venice, 1581), reprinted in London in 1759; and 'A Dissertation on the Construction and Properties of Arches,' by G. A. Atwood (London, 1801). This book on arches contains three full pages of notes by Bulfinch showing careful study of the subject and citing French builders.



PLAN AND ELEVATION FROM PLAW, LONDON, 1795

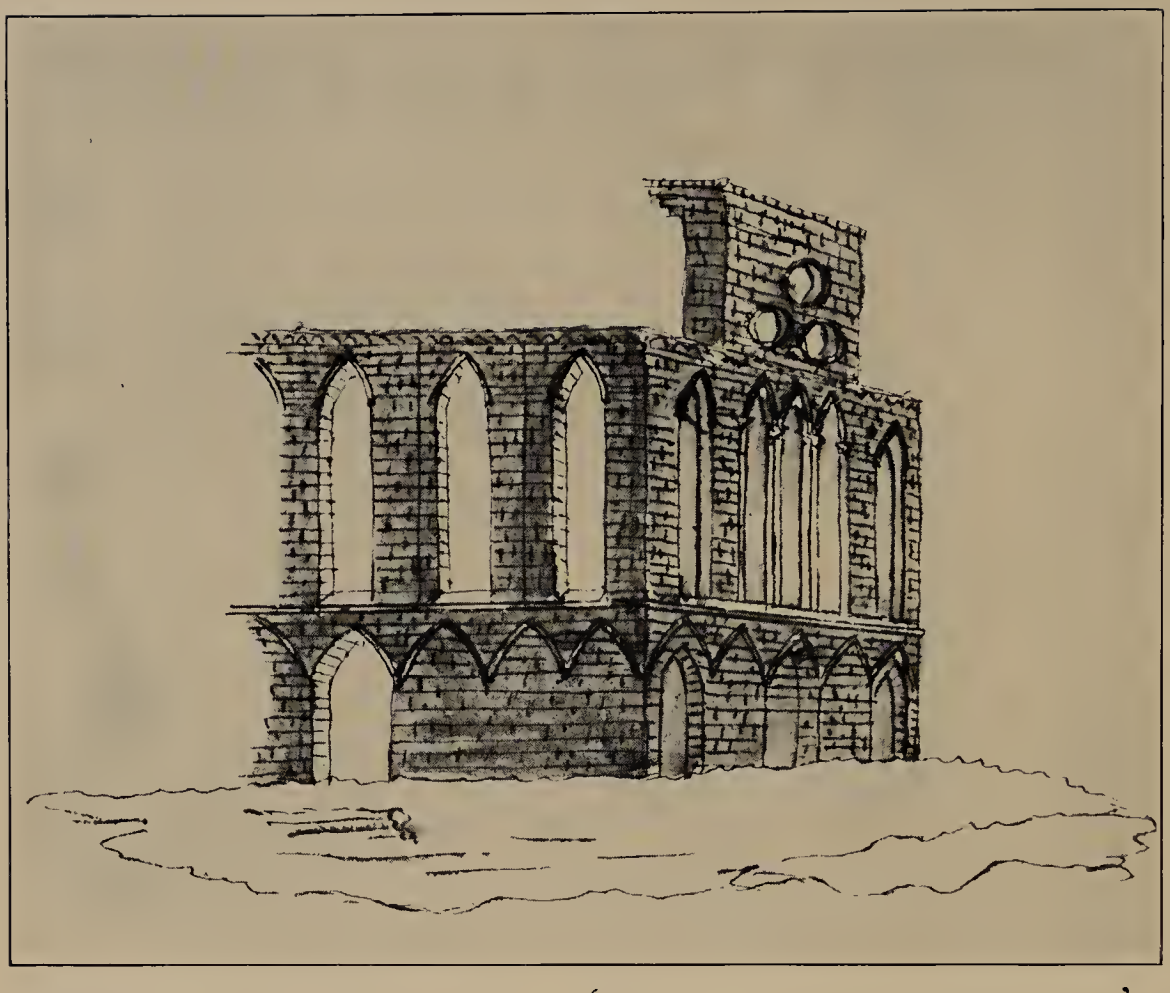
It is interesting to observe that of the fifteen or more foreign printed books on architecture in his possession, not one was of the kind in the hands of American builders, such as Ware, Pain, Langley, and others — mainly concerned with the 'five orders' and details. Nor does it appear that Bulfinch owned any of the rather numerous American printed books except a copy of Asher Benjamin's 'Practice of Architecture' (Boston, 1833), presented to him 'with the respects of the author.' His understanding of the principles of construction was the result of careful study, and as a designer he was more than a copyist. Whatever the influence of other designs in his more important work, the source of practically all of which can be traced, there is a handling that shows mastery of any problem in hand.

So, too, there is no evidence in what he did of the dominance of any school or individual. Peter Harrison's influence upon Bulfinch has

been called self-evident, and this may seem possible if one compare only the Brick Market, Newport, as it was about 1830 with certain Bulfinch motives; but there is nothing to show that Bulfinch ever visited Newport; and while Harrison's King's Chapel, Boston, and Christ Church, Cambridge, so familiar to him, must have appealed to his artistic spirit, they have little in common with what he did.

Not even of Wren can we say that the influence was marked. Only two Bulfinch church interiors bear direct witness to Wren in the domical motive of Saint Stephen's, Walbrook. Wren's influence upon American architecture is considerable, but equally important and more direct, especially on churches, is that of James Gibbs to whom little credit has been given. The history of our architecture involves more fundamental sources than these two men, to whom we are much indebted, and this is true of Bulfinch in whose work the motives of Wren and Gibbs are not marked. Bulfinch's power lay in an artistic spirit that helped him to select and adapt, and on the whole he cannot be measured by his executed designs, conditioned as he was by local limitations.

The influence that moved Bulfinch was what we call Renaissance, but there are hints that upon his vision came a broader and more fundamental background, sometimes missed by architects. He could do little more than follow what was familiar to architects and builders of his day, yet with wider opportunity his was a nature to respond to what he saw of a noble past. In a copy of 'Essays on Gothic Architecture' (London, 1800), we find over two pages of notes on Saxon architecture, the influence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Saracens in Spain, etc., with a water-color sketch showing the pointed arch in the East. When these notes and the sketch were made cannot be determined, but they suggest his wide interest and hint the question



SKETCH BY BULFINCH IN A COPY OF 'ESSAYS ON GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE'

of architectural origins which to-day is answered in the increasing light of facts; and we feel that Bulfinch would have delighted in the great motives flooding with new force from that wonderful East.

As a citizen and public servant he was a product of his time, God-fearing, thorough, just; and his achievement was out of all proportion to the inadequate story here written. But Charles Bulfinch, architect and citizen, will find increasing recognition by those who love the beautiful and the true and that public spirit expressed in integrity and service.

THE END

INDEX

INDEX

Abbott, Jacob, 264.
Abbott, Lyman, 264.
Adam Brothers, 56, 160, 221.
Adams, John, 42, 109, 127.
Adams, John Quincy, 60, 243, 255.
Adams, Samuel, Sr., 215.
Adams, Samuel, 42, 68.
Almshouse, Boston, 98–99, 217.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 42.
Amory, Rufus G., 104.
Amory, Thomas, house, 184.
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 124.
Andover Theological School, 234.
Appleton, Samuel, 221.
Apthorp, Rev. East, 2.
Apthorp, Frances, 27.
Apthorp, George, 5.
Apthorp, Hannah, 24.
Apthorp, John, 29.
Apthorp, Susan, 2.
Arlington, Massachusetts, Calvary Methodist Church, 138.
Armstrong house, 176.
Augusta, Maine, First Church, 135.

Baltimore mob, 193.
Bank of England, 72.
Banner, Peter, 156, 168, 209.
Barrell, Joseph, 5, 16, 19, 28, 41, 42, 56; mansion, 147–51, 232.
Bartlett, William, 234.
Bartlett, W. H., 262.
Bartol, Elizabeth, 183.
Bartol, Rev. George M., D.D., 227, 228.
Beacon Hill, 12, 32, 99, 103, 104, 154.
Beacon Hill Monument, 31, 93, 154.
Beacon Street, houses on, 187, 221.
Belfast, Maine, First Church, 135.
Belknap, Rev. Jeremy, 31, 63.
Benjamin, Asher, 167, 168, 209.
Bingham house, Philadelphia, 27, 160.
Blackburn, Joseph, 2.
Bordeaux, France, 8.
Boston, Bulfinch's early account of, 4–5; in 1787, 11–15; selectmen, 38, 94 ff., 191 ff.; education, 39, 98, 202, 206; trade and commerce, 43, 94, 109, 191, 194; banking, 43, 135; West Boston bridge, 64; the poor, 96; health, 96; courts, 96, 202, 207; finance, 97, 113, 200, 201, 207; land expansion, 99; South, 100, 204; South Boston bridge, 100; War of 1812, 191–95.
Boston Bank, 135, 136.
Boston Common, 12, 188, 195, 204.
Boston Court-House, 138, 145, 209.
Boston Library Society, 71.
Boston Light, 12.
Boston Marine Insurance Company, 137.
Boston Neck, 197.
Boston Society of Architects, 89, 216.
Bostonian Society, 175, 176.
Bowditch, N.I., 41.
Bowdoin Square, 1, 70, 176, 279.
Bowen, Samuel, 60.
Brattle Street Church, 11, 33, 34.
British Coffee House, 135.
Broad Street, 104, 107, 195.
Brown, Abram English, *History of Faneuil Hall*, 123.
Brown, Glenn, *History of the United States Capitol*, 245, 252, 260.
Brown, Mather, 8, 60.
Brown, Samuel, 60, 98.
Bulfinch, Adino, 1.
Bulfinch, Anna, 27.
Bulfinch, Charles, birth and family, 1–2; autobiographical sketch, 2–6; European trip, 6–11; Boston and the new era, 12–15; part in the 'Columbia' expedition, 16–20; marriage, 24, to New York and Philadelphia, 27–29; residence in Marlborough Street, 29–31, 36; removal, 37; elected selectman, 38; prominent in establishing theatre, 40, 59–63; elected fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 42; services to town, 64; one of Committee on new State House, 67–68; bankrupt, 68–75; Chairman, Board of Selectmen, 94–117, 191–208; superintendent of police, 96; increase in salary, 112; member, Massachusetts Historical Society, 109; in jail, 114; services to Catholics of Boston, 125; plan for development of Beacon Hill, 154; residence in Bulfinch Street, 172–75; in War of 1812, 193–95; many and arduous duties as Chairman of Board, 196; fails of reëlection and vindication, 198; address at town meeting, 199–201; salary as Chairman, 202; prominent part in entertaining President Monroe, 203–05; presides for last time at Board meeting, 205; summary of services to town, 206–08; removal to Washington, D.C., and architect of Capitol, 241; Bulfinch's narration of, 241–45; salary, 243; first Sunday in city, 245; work on the Capitol building, 244–60; rotunda, 247, 249, 259; plans, 249, 251; central dome, 246, 247, 252–59; Bulfinch-Trumbull letters, 247–50; knowledge of structural principles, 260; work on Capitol

grounds, 260–63; home and social life, 263–64; other work for the Government, 273–75; departure for Boston, 275; at Bumstead Place, 276; visit to Washington, 279; return to birthplace, Bowdoin Square, 279; reading and letters, 283; his death, 284; his books, 285–86; sources of his inspiration, 286–88.
Bulfinch, Mrs. Charles, 11, 24, 27, 56, 70, 72, 115, 276, 283.
Bulfinch, Elizabeth, 41.
Bulfinch, Ellen, 89, 90.
Bulfinch, Madam, 142.
Bulfinch, Rev. Stephen G., 90, 216, 252.
Bulfinch, Susan, 36.
Bulfinch, Thomas, Sr., 1.
Bulfinch, Thomas, Jr., 1, 16, 19.
Bulfinch Harbor, 19.
Bulfinch Place, 171–72, 175, 176.
Bulfinch Place, No. 8, 172–76.
Bulfinch Street, 171, 175, 176.
Bunker Hill, battle of, 5.
Bunker Hill Monument Association, 32.
Burrell, Ellen M., 80.

Cabot, Samuel, 40, 153.
Caldwell, John, 50.
Cambridge, Christ Church, 2, 287.
Cambridge, First Church, 212.
Cambridge, East, Court-House, 145, 146; jail, 146.
Canner, Rev. Dr., 7.
Canton, 19, 20.
Capitol, Washington. *See* Washington.
Carleton, Osgood, 103, 172.
Carrol, John, Bishop, 126, 127.
Castine, Maine, Church, 132.
Castle Island, 194.
Catholics, Boston, 125–28.
Chamberlain, Allen, *Beacon Hill*, 154.
Chambers, William, 91.
Channing, W. E., Church, 205.
Chardon house, 176.
Charles River, 115, 148, 188.
Charlestown Bridge, 12, 64, 149.
Charlestown, First Church, 131.
Charlestown, Navy Yard, Commandant's house, 157.
Chesapeake, frigate, 110.
Chester, John, 50, 52, 54.
Chestnut Street, houses on, 179–83.
Cheverus, Rev. John, first Catholic Bishop, Boston, 126, 128.
China, 16, 19.
Christ Church, Boston, 11, 33, 132, 205.
Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 287.
Clap, or Clapp, William, 61, 171, 172.
Clark-Frankland house, 11.
Clarke, William B., 175.
Cleveland, William, 231, 232.
Coffin, Peleg, 121.
Coleman, Judith, 1.
Coleridge, Lord, 90.
Colonnade Row, 147, 167, 187, 188.
Columbia River, 20.
Columbia, ship, 16, 19, 20; expedition, 16–20.
Combe's *Travels in America*, 283.
Connecticut Historical Society, 44.
Connecticut State House, 44–55, 90, 91, 92, 250.
Coolidge, Joseph, Sr., 41, 70; mansion, 41.
Coolidge, Joseph, Jr., 41, 70, 241.
Copley, John Singleton, 8, 151, 152, 183, 218.
Copley lands, 99, 152, 153, 154.
Cotting, Uriah, 104; house, 218, 221.
Crafts house, Roxbury, 156, 168.
Cummings, Charles A., 89.

Davis, Judge, 5.
Dawes, Thomas, 67, 98, 100, 103.
Dedham Court-House, 118.
Deer Island, building, 64.
Dexter, Samuel, 5, 111.
Dickens, Charles, 121.
Dillaway, Thomas C., 104.

Edinburgh University, 1.
Eliot, Samuel A., 124.
England, 8.
England, Bank of, 72.
Essex Bank, Salem, Massachusetts, 137.
Everett, Edward, 55, 188.
Exchange Coffee House, 195, 204, 205.

Faneuil Hall, 11, 111, 113, 114, 122–25, 193.
Faneuil, Peter, house, 11, 114.
Fay House, 154–56.
Federal Hall, New York, 29.
Federal Street Church, 31, 63, 141.
Fisher, Jacob, 231–32.
Flucker, Lucy, 151.
Flucker, Thomas, 151, 152.
Franklin, Benjamin, 38, 59.
Franklin Place, 56–59, 63, 68–69, 75, 93, 167, 187; occupiers of houses in, 75.
Freeman, Rev. James, 2.
Frothingham's *History of Charlestown*, 131.

Gibbs, James, 90, 287.
Gilman, Mary, 100.
Gore, Christopher, 110, 193; mansion, 156.
Gray's Harbor, 20.
Gray, Robert, 16, 19, 20.
Green, John H., 215, 217, 231.
Greenleaf, Stephen, 24.

Hallam's *Literary History*, 283.
Hallowell, Maine, Old South Church, 132.
Halsey, Jeremiah, 44, 54, 55.

INDEX

Hancock, Cape, 20.
Hancock, Ebenezer, 104.
Hancock, Gov. John, 29.
Hancock, John, 104.
Hancock house, 11.
Handel and Haydn Society, 141.
Harrison, Peter, 286.
Hartford, Connecticut, 44, 50.
Hartford Convention, 111, 192, 193–94.
Hartford Courant, 51.
Harvard College, 1, 5, 205, 237.
Hawkins Street School, 118, 210.
Hersey, Thomas, 232.
Hichborn, Benjamin, 100.
Higginson, Stephen, 62.
Higginson, Stephen, Jr., 176.
Hingham, Massachusetts, 232; North Church, 269.
Hinckly, David, house, 218.
Hollis Street Church, 20, 23, 24.
Holy Cross Church, 125–28, 131.
Hooker, Noadiah, 50.
Houghton Mifflin Company, 168.
Howard, Rev. B., 5.
Howard, Jonathan, 171.
Hughes, James, 40.
Huguenot Church, Boston, 126.
Humphreys, David, 179.
Hunnewell, Jonathan, 121.
Hutchinson house, 11.

India Wharf, 104–08.

Jackson, Andrew, President, 274.
Jackson, Henry, 60, 152.
Jay Treaty, 64, 69, 70, 72.
Jefferson, Thomas, 16, 109, 151.
Jews in Boston, 202.
Jones, Inigo, 90.
Jones, J. C., 111.
Jones, Paul, 16.
Joy, Benjamin, 99, 115, 152, 158.
Joy, Levi, 104.

Kendrick, John, 16, 19.
Kimball, Fiske, *American Domestic Architecture*, 156 n.
King's Chapel, 2, 11, 33, 109, 195; communion plate, 7, 276, 287.
Kirkland, John Thornton, 205.
Knox, Henry, house, 151–52, 158.

Lafayette, Marquis de, 6, 180.
Lancaster, Massachusetts, Church, 217, 222–32, 269.
Lane, Commissioner, United States Capitol, 242, 244.
Latin School, 39, 145; third building, 209.
Latrobe, Benjamin H., 242, 243, 244, 246, 248, 252, 255, 256, 260.
Ledyard, John, 16.
Lee, William, 242, 243.
Leffingwell, John, 55.
Leopard, frigate, 110.
Leverett Street jail, 218.
Lexington fight, 5.
Life and Letters, 30, 62, 89, 207, 241, 276, 279.
Louisiana Purchase, 112.
Lowell, Francis C., 104.
Lyman, Theodore, 72, 111, 193.

McIntire, Samuel, 138, 156, 167, 222, 232.
Mackenzie, Alexander, 19.
McKim, Charles F., 273.
McLean, John, 64, 237.
McLean Hospital, 64, 148, 233, 237.
Madison, James, 191.
Maine State House, 92, 98, 270–72.
Malbone, Edward Greene, 11.
Manufacturers and Mechanics Bank, 135.
Marlborough Street, 29–30.
Mason, Jonathan, 72, 99, 100, 111, 115; house, 152–53; 154, 179.
Mason Street School, 210.
Massachusetts, 12, 15, 27.
Massachusetts Bank, 43, 135, 137.
Massachusetts General Hospital, 64, 211, 233, 237–40.
Massachusetts Historical Society, 16, 59, 109, 150, 168.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Architectural Library, 259, 264.
Massachusetts Magazine, 23, 29.
Massachusetts Society for the Aid of Immigrants, 72.
Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, 42.
Massachusetts State House, 20, 44, 48, 53, 60, 67, 75–93, 249, 259.
Massachusetts State Prison, 120–22.
Matignon, Rev. Francis A., 126.
Middlecot Street, 37, 71, 172.
Mill Pond, 12, 100, 103–04.
Minot, George B., 98.
Monroe, James, visit to Boston, 203–05, 212; 242, 243, 255, 264.
Morgan, John, 50, 53.
Morris, Robert, 16.
Morton, Perez, 40, 60, 89, 136.
Morton house, Roxbury, 156.
Mount Vernon Street, houses on, 176–79, 183.

Nantes, 7.
Neck lands, 100, 113.
Newburyport, Massachusetts, Court-House, 119.
New England Marine Insurance Company, 137.

INDEX

New North Church, 125, 131, 225, 226.
New South Church, 138, 212–17.
New York City, 27, 28.
Nickerson, Samuel, 158.
Nîmes, 8.
Nootka, ship, 16.
Norfolk, Virginia, citizens protest, 110.

Oakley, summer house of Harrison Gray Otis, 156.
Old South Church, 11, 33.
Otis, Harrison Gray, 60, 64, 72, 99, 100, 104, 115, 152, 153, 154, 156; first house, 159–63; second house, 163–64, 167, 176, 187; third house, 164, 167, 179; Hartford Convention, 193; address to President Monroe, 204.

Paine, Judge, 5.
Parker, Theodore, 283.
Parkman, Samuel, 19, 125, 141, 176, 193.
Park Place (now Street) houses, Nos. 1–4, 147, 167, 168–71, 183.
Park Street Church, 141, 168.
Parris, Alexander, 209, 273.
Peck, John, 100.
Perkins, Thomas, house, 184.
Perkins, Thomas H., 111.
Peterboro, New Hampshire, Church, 266, 269–70.
Philadelphia, 27, 233.
Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, 237.
Phillips, John, house, 184.
Phillips, William, 237.
Phillips, Zachariah, 154.
Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Church, 32–36, 125, 142.
Porter, Rev. Edward G., 150.
Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Academy, 146.
Pratt, Bela, 228.
Prince, James, 40.
Providence, First Congregational Church, 23, 215, 217, 231; First Baptist Church, 33.
Province House, 11, 67.

Quincy, Massachusetts, Stone Temple, 273.
Quincy, Josiah, 112, 201, 202, 207.

Revere, Paul, 60, 68, 80, 93; bell at Lancaster 225.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 8.
Rice, Henry, 172, 175.
Robbins, Edward Hutchinson, 68, 121.
Roe, Alfred S., 90.
Royal Exchange, London, 125.
Russell, Joseph, 40, 60.
Russell, Nathaniel P., 221.

Saint Mary-le-Bow, 2.
Saint Paul's Church, Boston, 209.
Saint Paul's Church, London, 23.
Saint Peter's, Rome, 8.
Saint Stephen's Church, Boston, 125, 131.
Saint Stephen's Church, Walbrook, London, 23, 228.
Salem, Massachusetts, 221, 222, 232.
Salem Almshouse, 222.
Sargent, Peter, 11.
Scollay, William, 59, 63, 69, 71, 72, 154.
Scripps-Booth house, 176, 221.
Sears, David, 64, 193, 218.
Seymour, Thomas, 50.
Shays's Rebellion, 20.
Smibert, John, Faneuil Hall, 122.
Smith, Abiel, 202, 203.
Smith, Jonathan, 269.
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 159.
Somerset House, London, 91.
Southack Court, 37, 71, 172, 175.
Sparks, Jared, sideboard and portrait of Mrs. Sparks, 212.
Spear, Samuel, 104.
State House, old, Boston, 11, 67, 76, 85, 113, 195.
Stearns, Eli, 231.
Storer, George, 27, 69, 71, 172, 276.
Stoughton, Don Juan, 126–27, 128.
Strickland, William, 274.
Stuart, Gilbert, 125, 152, 183.
Suffolk Insurance Company, 137.
Sullivan, William, 111.
Swan, Mrs. James, 99, 152; Dorchester house, 156; Chestnut Street, 180.

Taunton, Massachusetts, Church, 32–36, 125, 142.
Thayer, Rev. John, 126.
Thayer, Rev. Nathaniel, 225, 228.
Theatre in Philadelphia, 27; in Boston, 28, 40, 59–61, 63.
Thomas, Isaiah, 119.
Thomas, *Original Designs in Architecture*, 156.
Thornton, William, 245, 246, 247, 248, 255, 262.
Thurston house, 154.
Ticknor house, 184.
Touro, Abraham, 202.
Tower, Rufus, 104.
Trumbull, John, 50, 51, 54.
Trumbull-Bulfinch letters, 247–50, 255, 259.
Tuckerman, Edward, Jr., 218.
Tudor, William, 100.

Union Bank, 135, 136.
United States Branch Bank, Boston, 43, 135.
University Hall, Harvard College, 138, 210–12, 240.

Vancouver, George, 19.
Vaughn, Charles, 42, 56, 63, 68, 71, 72, 132, 148, 264, 276.
Vaughn, Harriet, 264.

Ward, Andrew, 54.

INDEX

Warren, John C., 193, 240.
Warren, Joseph, 111.
Washington, D.C., 241; the Capitol, 241–63; penitentiary, 273; Unitarian Church, 264–66, 279; War College, 273.
Washington, George, 27, 28, 29.
Washington Street, Boston, 30.
Washington, Lady, ship, 16.
Watson, Lucy, 175.
Waverley, 150, 233.
Weld, Benjamin, 200.
Wheeler, Joseph, 24.
Willard, Ashton R., 120.
Willard, Solomon, 136, 167, 168, 209, 218, 248, 249.
Wolcott, Oliver, 53, 54.
Worcester, Massachusetts, Bank, 119; Court-House, 118–19.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 23, 90, 132, 287.

Date Due

MAR 1 1926

MAR 8 1926

FEB 16 1929

Apr27'33

Date Due

O
921
B87

17266